







AN ESSAY

ON THE

LATE INSTITUTION

OF THE

AMERICAN SOCIETY

FOR COLONIZING

The Free People of Colour,

OF THE

UNITED STATES.

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District of Columbia, to wit :

BE IT REMEMBERED, That on the twenty-first day of October, one thousand eight hundred and twenty, and the forty-fifth year of the Independence of the United States of America, Peter Force, of the said District, hath deposited in this office, the title of a book, the right whereof he claims as proprietor, in the words following, to wit :

“An Essay on the late Institution of the American Society for Colonizing the Free People of Colour of the United States.”

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In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and affixed my
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EDMUND I. LEE,
Clerk of the District of Columbia.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

TO THE READER.

The following essay was written in the year 1817, within a month or two after the original formation of the Colonization Society at Washington. Particular circumstances, which are unnecessary to be here mentioned, precluded the author from the publication of it, until the present time. He supposes, however, that no very material incidents have occurred in the interval, which can invalidate either the force or the utility of the remarks therein contained. The favourable intelligence brought by Mr. Burgess, one of the missionaries of the society, indicating a disposition in the English African Institution, to afford their friendly aid in promoting the views of the American Colonization Society, is highly encouraging, and, it is hoped, will induce the philanthropic members of the society not to relax their exertions in such a truly patriotic cause. The reception of the missionaries at *Sierra Leone*, and the ocular information, there acquired by them, of the prosperous situation of that colony, affords additional encouragement also to those exertions. It is to be regretted, however, that the "Report of the Board of Managers" of the society, in January last, leaves the question doubtful and uncertain, whether they propose to plant a new colony of their own in some distinct part of the African coast, or to engraft their colonization on that of *Sierra Leone*. The latter, certainly, would be far the most desirable, could the consent of the English government and the African Institution be obtained for that purpose; as it would assuredly promise greater security and permanence to those beneficial results hoped for from the laudable exertions of the society. But, if this consent cannot be obtained, the flattering intelligence, received by the missionary, seems sufficient to warrant the attempt to establish a distinct and independent colony of our own; relying on the disposition "of the benevolent men in England, and, it is hoped, of all Europe," that such a colony, planted from such motives, will remain as a sanctuary inviolate and undisturbed. But it is not enough, that such laudable intentions, on which not

only the future happiness, but the very being and existence of one half of the States of the Union, and consequently of that Union itself, depend, should be left to the feeble exertions of a few private individuals of a humane society. It is the imperative duty of the Congress of the United States to take up the subject; and, in virtue of their powers "to provide for the general welfare," make such legislative arrangements as shall be effectual for the purpose.

Maryland, May 16th, 1819.

AN ESSAY, &c.

NO event has occurred, since the United States declared themselves independent, (the formation of their present Constitution of confederation, perhaps, excepted,) which is fraught with more important consequences than the institution of the "Society" lately formed at the City of Washington, for the colonization of the free "people of colour;" comprehending therein, as we may suppose, the free *negroes* as well as the *mulattoes* of these United States.* It is a subject which the author of this Essay has so often revolved in his own mind, since the settlement of the *Sierra Leone* colony in the year 1791, that he had almost persuaded himself, at different times, to hazard the publication of a similar proposal. But, reflecting at once, that he was but an obscure individual, possessed of neither power nor influence adequate in the smallest degree to the promotion of such a scheme, his sanguine enthusiasm on the subject was checked, and he could only make the measure a frequent topic of his conversations with his friends and acquaintances. Now, however, since the proposal has been ushered to the world, under the influential authority or recommendation of men, whose names and characters are so well known throughout the continent, it is hoped, that the author of this publication will be excused for presuming to throw in his humble assistance in promoting so laudable, so benevolent, and so patriotic a purpose.

The subject seems to divide itself into three general heads for consideration :

First, *As to the justice and rectitude of the measure :—*

Secondly, *As to its policy, and even necessity : And—*

Thirdly, *As to the expediency, or practicability of it.*

* There is considerable inaccuracy in the denomination given by the above-mentioned "Society," to themselves. The expression, "people of colour," has been adopted in these States from a similar expression, *peuples de couleur*, or more commonly *gens de couleur*, heretofore used by the *French* inhabitants of St. Domingo, when speaking of the free *mulattoes*. Under these expressions they never meant to comprehend *negroes*, either free or slaves. (As an authority for this, see *Edwards's History of St. Domingo*, in the fourth volume of his *History of the West-Indies*.) But it must be supposed, that the intention of our "Society" was to comprehend the free *negroes*, as well as free *mulattoes*. The denomination is, therefore, more confined than the evident purposes of the Society. The expression, people of colour, if intended to comprehend free *negroes*, is incorrect also on philosophical principles. *White* and *black*, according to opticians, are not *colours*. They are not classed among, or do not form any one of the seven primitive colours ascertained by a prism; the former (*white*) arising from a total *reflection*, and the latter (*black*) from a total *absorption*, of all the primitive colours carefully intermixed.

SECT. I.

As to the justice and rectitude of the measure.

IN considering this part of the subject, the first ideas that present themselves to the mind are two questions.

Are these people, usually termed *Negroes*, of the same *genus* or *species* with the rest of mankind, and particularly with the *white* inhabitants of the United States?

If they are not of the same *species* with the *whites*, though of the same *genus* of animals, called Man, would it be right and proper, or would it be doing them any *injustice*, to take all lawful means to prevent an amalgamation or intermixture of these two *species* of mankind?

Let us indulge ourselves in a short discussion of the first of these questions. Much ingenious disquisition has been exercised by learned men, in America as well as in Europe, in those natural causes of variety of colour, as well as other specific distinctions, which are discernible in the superficial appearances of the different races of mankind. Some of these *literati* have been tremblingly alive, lest a favourite system, derived from the remotest antiquity, should, in the investigation of this analysis of human nature, receive a shock, that might tumble it into ruins. It would be a death-blow to their system, as they suppose, should presumptuous naturalists or philosophers succeed in the establishment of the position, that the race of man could not possibly originate from one common parentage; but that, like other animals of the creation, they were willed into existence by the great Creator of all things, with all those *generic* and *specific* qualities, which were originally impressed upon them by the hand of the Creator, in whatever part of the globe they were placed. A daring philosopher might possibly ask—why should there not be as many *varieties* in that sort of animal called Man, as there are evidently in the *canine* species? Can any one assent with plausible propriety that the bulldog and the grey-hound are descended from one common parentage? Although nature has not forbid their promiscuous propagation, yet she has evidently drawn a line distinctly marking those different species of the same genus, or these different varieties of the same species, with an evident intention, that their races should be kept distinct, in order that the utilities of the natural qualities of each should be retained for the purposes for which they were designed. Analogy thus points out strong and forcible reasons to support the supposition, that the various races of mankind were

originally, in their primitive creation, thus distinctly marked as we now see them, and placed by the hand of their Creator in those particular regions and climates of the earth, where, for the most part, they now inhabit; possibly, indeed, in his all-seeing wisdom, designedly invested with those peculiar qualities which are best adapted to those regions and climates in which he thus originally placed them.* But, in destruction of all this reasoning, we are told of an irresistible tradition of a deluge; and that Noah and his family were the only human inhabitants of the earth preserved in a miraculous manner from that inundation by embarking in a floating ark; that Noah, after being thus miraculously preserved with his family, planted the earth with a vineyard, made good wine, got drunk upon it, stripped himself naked, fell asleep, and in that condition happened to be seen by his son *Ham*—who, calling his two brothers to come and look at their father in this shameful condition, was, by Noah, when he awoke and became informed of the transaction, *cursed in his posterity*; and that the Negroes of Africa, who were *Ham's* posterity, became black through the influence of that curse; and moreover, that the denunciation then pronounced by Noah against Canaan, *Ham's* son, “a servant of servants should he be unto his brethren,” authorizes the people of America, to make slaves of the Negroes.

Setting aside the impiety in making the Supreme Being the author of an act of such outrageous injustice, as to punish an innocent son for the transgression of his father, it happens, that the interpretation of this passage in the scriptures is, by the best historians and expositors, deemed to be erroneous; for neither Canaan, upon whom the curse was pronounced, nor any of his descendants ever settled in Africa, except perhaps, some Phenicians, who are said to have migrated, some ages afterwards, into those northern parts of Africa, now comprehended under the denomination of *Barbary*. That part of the world which fell to Canaan's lot, and became settled by his posterity, was that well known *land of Canaan*, “flowing with milk and honey,” which so much attracted the merciless Israelites as to induce them to extirpate the Canaanites, in order to get possession of their country, subsequently denominated *Judea*; somewhat in the same manner as the people of God in America are now extirpating the Creeks and Cherokees, that they may possess their fertile territories.

Noah's curse, then, was not the cause of the colour of the Negroes; nor does it appear that the origin of the *black*

* See the Appendix, Note I.

race of mankind in the interior and southern parts of Africa can be clearly traced, by the authority of the Scriptures, to the descendants of *Ham*. One of the accounts, derived from that source, is, that they are descended from another son of Ham's called *Phut*, who is said to have settled in Mauritania, which comprehended the country now composing the kingdoms of Morocco, Fez, and Algiers. But it does not appear from the scriptures, that *Phut* was a *black* man, or that he was at all comprehended in the curse pronounced upon *Canaan*. He must have been, as we may suppose, of the same colour as that of his father *Ham*, who was probably of the same colour of that of his brothers *Shem* and *Japhet*; the latter of whom has the honour, as is alleged, of being the progenitor of us Anglo-Americans, and therefore, in all probability was a *white* man. Besides, there are strong geographical reasons, why, supposing *Phut* to have settled in Mauritania, and that his posterity constituted or laid the foundation of the present race of Moors, yet that they could not, in all probability, have migrated from thence into the interior parts of Africa, so as to have produced the present race of Negroes. It seems to be well ascertained by geographers, that along all that tract of tolerably fertile country in Africa, bordering on the Mediterranean, and now possessed by what are called the Barbary States, there runs a chain of mountains called *Atlas*, parallel with the Mediterranean, and extending from the Atlantic Ocean to the desert of Barca, which separates Tripoli from Egypt. Beyond this chain of mountains, or rather on the south side thereof, lies another tract of country, parallel to the same, extremely barren and yielding no other food for the existence of man than a few scattered date-trees. Passing this tract, there runs again an immense desert of sand, parallel with the former and of equal extent from west to east, that is, from the Atlantic Ocean to the confines of Nubia and Egypt, stated to be about a thousand miles in breadth from north to south, and on the north penetrable only by caravans carrying with them water and other necessities of life for a journey of two months, before they can reach the habitable interior parts of Africa now possessed by the Negroes.* Now, these circumstances seem to present insurmountable difficulties to a supposition of the propagation of mankind in that direction.

But, if we adopt the conjecture of a learned modern traveller, (whoever he was,†) who has published his *Travels*

* See the map of the northern parts of Africa inserted in "*Ali Bey's Travels*," improved from Major *Rennell's* map of the same.

† "*The Travels of Ali Bey*" are said to have been performed by a *Spaniard* of the name of *Badia*, who adopted an Arabic character and name, probably

into the northern part of Africa, under the Arabic denomination of "Ali Bey," we shall be convinced at once of an obvious impossibility, that the Negroes could ever have derived their origin from the primitive inhabitants of those northern parts of Africa, now denominated the Barbary States. This ingenious traveller is of opinion, that the country bordering on the Mediterranean, now constituting these States, was originally an island, and that it was most probably the island called by the ancients, Atlantis; that the immense sandy desert, now called Sahhara, near a thousand miles broad, which separates these states from *Nigritia* or the country of the Negroes, was originally covered by the sea and formed a part of the Atlantic Ocean; that the ridge of mountains called Atlas, extending as they now do from the shores of the Atlantic to the desert of Barca, which separate Tripoli from Egypt, formed what might be called the southern shores of this island. If this conjecture of this learned man be founded in truth, and he seems to support it with apparently unanswerable arguments, all hope of deducing the descent of the Negroes through any of the primitive inhabitants of this island must be at an end.

Driven from this entrance into Africa, the admirers of the ancient system of one common parentage seek to shove the descendants of Ham into that quarter of the world through another avenue. They suppose, (for, it is all supposition only,) that the Negroes must have derived their origin from one of the two other sons of Ham, to wit, Chus or Misraim. But from the best expositors it appears, that Chus and his posterity settled, not only in Arabia, but also in that country in Persia, called from him Chusestan. Misraim seems to have been considered as the progenitor of the Egyptians and Abyssinians, who are said by some to be the Ludim and Ananim of Moses; but by others the Ludim and Ananim, (the descendants of Misraim,) settled further in the interior parts of Africa and a little to the westward of Egypt; from whom, if from any of Noah's descendants, the most plausible origin of the Negroes is to be traced. But it is all mere conjecture only; for the scriptures are silent upon the subject; and although it appears to have been *possible*, that these Ludim and Ananim might have extended their generations from their first settlements bordering on Egypt into the more interior parts of Africa, yet such a bare *possibility* is not sufficient to bear down before it the apparently insur-

for the purpose of travelling with more facility through the eastern countries, between the years 1803 and 1807. A translation of these Travels has been lately published in London and in Philadelphia.

mountable barriers which the laws of nature have raised against this hypothesis. The distinguishing phenomena of colour, wool, odour, and form of the Negroes, are such evident marks of a distinct *species* of the human animal, as to require strong credulity in supposing them to be descended from the same common parentage as either the Egyptians or or Abyssinians; who are generally represented by travellers as being of a *swarthy* colour with *long hair*, and in every respect evidently of a distinct race from the Negroes.

But we are exultingly asked—how will you reconcile the preservation of mankind from the deluge, of which every part of the earth bears evident marks, unless by the supposition of a common origin? To this it might be answered as has been by some very learned men, that Noah's flood was not to be considered as general or universal over the whole earth, but topical only, and confined to *Judea* and the regions thereabout, or perhaps to that tract of land which lies between the four seas, the Persian, Caspian, Euxine and Mediterranean, or at most that it reached no further than the continent of Asia, and that such partial inundations might, in the lapse of ages, have successively effected all parts of the earth. One author, indeed, has gone so far in his supposition, that all mankind did not perish in the deluge, as to endeavour to prove by an exposition of the curse upon *Cain*, “a fugitive and a vagabond shalt thou be in the earth;” that his posterity must have wandered so far from the site of the ark as not to have been saved by it, and that the Africans, (the *Negroes*, we may suppose,) were of *Cain's* posterity unaffected by the deluge. Be all this as it may, the insurmountable difficulties attending the supposition, according to human reason, of a sufficiency of water attached to this earth to cover the surface thereof to the tops of the “highest hills,” and above all, of the capacity of an ark to contain the pairs and sevens of every different *species* of the animal creation, as well as the utter impossibility of collecting or driving them into such a vessel, must create in every mind strong doubts of the universality of the deluge.

Let us now advert to the consideration of the supposed effects of *climate*. As before observed, much ingenious disquisition has been written to prove, that those marked differences, which we perceive in the various races of mankind, might have been produced by the influence of the different climates of the earth, notwithstanding their races were originally of the same colour, derived from their common parentage immediately after the deluge; that a moist northern climate would produce *whiteness*, and the scorching heat of

the torrid zone, *blackness*; and hence their colours have varied into two extremes.

Lest it might be supposed by misinformed readers, that I have the vanity here of attempting to set forth a singular opinion, hitherto unauthorized by literary men, I shall, by way of introduction to my remarks on this subject, copy the analysis of that genus of animals called Man, as laid down by *Buffon*, confessedly the best informed naturalist, whose works have yet appeared in the world. He has distinguished the men of the old continent, that is, of the three quarters of the world, called Europe, Asia, and Africa into five races; as follows:

"1. The Laplanders, Danish, Swedish, and Russian; the inhabitants of Greenland, Kamtschatka, and the Samoied Tartars, from latitude sixty degrees north to the pole; their colour, deep brown, almost black; shape, short, large head, flat nose, hollow small eyes, high cheek bones, wide mouth, thick lips.

"2. The Tartars from latitude fifty to sixty. To this race is joined the Chinese and Japanese. Their colour olive, tawny, white; shape, middle size, broad face, flat nose, small eyes, high cheek bones, narrow chin, black hair, large thighs, little beard.

"3. The inhabitants of Europe, Georgia, Circassia, Asia Minor, and the *northern parts of Africa*, to the northward of fifty degrees. Their colour, *white*; shape, middle size, rather tall; *eyes blue*, hazel or black; *hair flaxen*, brown, red, black.

"4. The southern Asiatics inhabiting the peninsula of India and its islands; to which belong the Persians and Arabians. Their colour olive, black; shape slender, well formed; Roman nose.

"5. The inhabitants of the *southern parts of Africa*, extending from latitude eighteen north to eighteen south, except the Abyssinians. Their colour *black*; shape middle size; *flat nose*, thick lips, *woolly hair*."*

The fair inference to be drawn from this arrangement of the different races of mankind, in what may be called the Old World, is, that this great philosopher and naturalist was clearly of opinion, that these distinct races of mankind necessarily implied as many distinct origins or common parentages. Else, why speak of them as different *races*? Having affixed to each *race* peculiar characteristics, whereby they may be distinguished from others, without referring those characteristics in the slightest manner to the effects of *climate*, he must have meant them as founded in nature, in their internal and superficial organization; the mechanism of their Creator, transmitted from generation to generation in

* Not having the original of *Buffon's* works to resort to, I have here copied what is above from Mr. Williamson's "Observations on the Climate of America," pa. 33, supposing that he has correctly translated, or copied from some English translation, the above passage from *Buffon's* works.

each distinct race, through every age and every clime, except where those races have been adulterated by intermixture. In some proof of this it may be observed, that he states, in the *first* race, the inhabitants "from latitude sixty degrees north to the pole" to be in "their colour *deep brown*, almost *black*." If this be the case, it would seem at once to destroy all supposition, that Negroes owe their black skin and crisped locks to the *heat* of the climate they inhabit; for, amidst the eternal frosts of Greenland and Kamtschatka the inhabitants are "almost black."

The earliest writers of any note, within my knowledge, who has attempted to refer the cause of the black colour of the Negroes to the influence of *climate*, is a Doctor *John Mitchel*, a resident physician of Virginia, in the early part of the eighteenth century, though a native of England. He appears to have been a man of considerable literary acquirements. As a large portion of the population of Virginia, even at that time, consisted of Negroes, he was thereby led to an investigation of the causes of their *colour*, as well as some other peculiarities attending them. Having reduced the result of his inquiries on the subject into the form of an *Essay*, he transmitted it to the Royal Society of London, (of which he was a member,) in the year 1744, where it was read several times, and from that circumstance appears to have been much approved.* In the course of his *Essay*, he endeavours to maintain the following propositions: "That the colour of the *white* people proceeds from the colour which the Epidermis transmits, that is, from the colour of the parts under the epidermis, rather than from any colour of its own.† That both the *cutis* and the *epidermis* of Negroes are of a thicker substance and denser texture than those of *white* people, and transmit no colour through them. They are, consequently, *black*. That this thickness and denseness of the skin is the effect of the sun in hot countries." "*Climate* is, therefore, the remote and principal cause of the colour of Negroes."

Having clearly demonstrated these several propositions, as he supposes, he proceeds to deduce from them several distinct "corollaries;" among which the following one, from its singularity, seems most worthy of notice.

* The reader may find it in the 43d vol. of the *Philosoph. Transactions*, at large, and in the 10th vol. of the *Phil. Transact. Abridged*, pa. 926.

† It may be proper here to observe, that anatomists state, that the flesh of the human body has three coverings. The first, or lowermost, which is the thickest and next to the flesh, is emphatically called the skin, or *cutis*; the second, which lies upon the *cutis*, is a thin net-like covering, called the *corpus reticulare*, or reticular membrane; and the third is an outer thin pellucid covering, called the *epidermis* or scarf-skin.

"From what has been said about the cause of the colour of black and white people we may justly conclude, that they might very naturally be both descended from one and the same parents, as we are otherwise better assured from Scripture, that they are;* which may remove the scruples of some nice philosophers, who cannot, or will not, believe even the Scriptures, unless it be so far as they can be made agreeable to their philosophy; for the different colours of people have been demonstrated to be only the necessary effects and natural consequences of their respective climes and ways of life; as we may further learn from experience, that they are the most suitable for the preservation of health, and the ease and convenience of mankind in these climes and ways of living; so that the black colour of the negroes of *Africa*, instead of being a curse denounced on them, on account of their forefather *Ham*, as some have idly imagined, is rather a blessing, rendering their lives, in that intemperate region, more tolerable, and less painful: whereas, on the other hand, the white people, who look on themselves as the primitive race of men, from a certain superiority of worth, either supposed or assumed, seem to have the least pretensions to it of any, either from history or philosophy; for, they seem to have degenerated more from the primitive and original complexion of mankind, in *Noah* and his sons, than even the Indians and Negroes; and that to the worst extreme, the most delicate, tender, and sickly. For, there is no doubt, but that *Noah* and his sons were of a complexion suitable to the climate where they resided, as well as the rest of mankind; which is the colour of the southern *Tartars* of *Asia*, or northern *Chinese*, at this day perhaps, which is a dark swarthy, a medium between black and white; from which primitive colour the *Europeans* degenerated as much on one hand, as the *Africans* did on the other; the *Asiatics* (unless, perhaps, where intermixed with the whiter *Europeans*,) with the most of the *Americans*, retaining the primitive and original complexion. The grand obstacle to the belief of this relation between black and white people is, that, on comparing them together, their colours seem to be so opposite and contrary, that it seems impossible that one should ever have been descended from the other. But besides the falsity of this supposed direct contrariety of their colours, they being only different, although extreme, degrees of the same sort of colour, as we have above proved; besides this, I say, that it is not a right state of the question; we do not affirm, that either blacks or whites were originally descended from one another, but that both were descended from people of an intermediate tawny colour; whose posterity became more and more tawny, i. e. black, in the southern regions, and less so, or white, in the northern climes: whilst those who remained in the middle regions, where the first men resided, continued of their primitive tawny complexions; which we see confirmed by matter of fact, in all the different people in the world."

* Genes. iii. 20. ix. 19,

We need not indulge in much comment in this place upon the extraordinary opinion of this writer, that the *whites* "have degenerated more from the original complexion of mankind, in Noah and his sons, than even the Indians and Negroes; and that to the worst extreme. the most delicate, tender, and sickly;" except to remark, that this respectable author seems to have over-looked, or at least to have been insensible to the beautiful moral effect, which the blushes of a modest *white* woman have upon the opposite sex. The intermixture of red and white forming the carnation of the cheeks, so visible to the eye in coming and retiring as the sentiments of the mind ebb and flow, surely gives an excellence to the *whites* of which the *blacks* are destitute. The flowing hair too, of the former is so much more susceptible of ornament in the changeable variety of fashion, as to afford to them manifest advantages in the art of pleasing by novelty. But, what is of obvious disadvantage to the blacks, and what forms an objection to them of great importance with the sensualist is their offensive odour; which not "all the perfumes of Arabia" can conquer or subdue. Health, certainly, is essential to beauty, and "sickliness" a defect; but in their appropriate climates the *whites* seem not to be inferior in this respect to the *blacks*.

Let us pass to another *American* writer on this subject. Mr. Williamson, of North-Carolina, has recently published a volume, entitled "Observations on the Climate in different parts of America."* This respectable author, (for such he certainly is, possessing more than ordinary talents for investigation,) sets out, in that part of his investigation where he combats *Buffon's* idea of several races of men, as before stated, in laying down the following general proposition—"that any two animals who can procreate together, and whose issue may continue to procreate, are of the same *species*." Before any application of this proposition to the present subject can be admitted, it would be necessary to settle the meaning here affixed to the word *species*. Naturalists use the terms, classes, orders, genera, species, and varieties, occasionally, when treating of the *animal* as well as *vegetable* kingdoms; and this too, in an arbitrary manner, so

* A writer, previous to Mr. Williamson, of the name of *Smith*, (as well as I can remember, the Rev. Samuel S. Smith, who was President of a College in Virginia, and subsequently of that of New-Jersey,) wrote a book or pamphlet on the causes of the colour of Negroes, in which, as it is said, he has assigned the same causes as Dr. Mitchell. Having no opportunity to inspect his work, I may here suppose that he has presented but little more elucidation on the subject than what Dr. Mitchell had before him, and Mr. Williamson has since.

as to suit the divisions of the subject on which they treat. "The word *species*, is a mere term of the relation : And the same idea may be a *species*, when compared to another general one ; and a *genus* with regard to a more particular one."* Thus, *animal* is a *genus* of created beings, and quadruped is a *species* ; again, quadruped is a *genus*, and dog a *species* thereof ; and again, dog is a *genus*, and the bull-dog and the grey-hound two distinct *species* thereof. So, by analogy, *animal* is a *genus*, and *man* a distinct *species* ; again, *man* is a *genus*, and the *white* man and the *Negro* two distinct *species* thereof. The abovementioned rule of philosophizing, therefore, can be but of little use on the present occasion ; for white men and negro women, and *vice versa*, may "procreate together," and their "issue may continue to procreate," yet they need not necessarily be "of the same species," any more than the canine animals just mentioned. Some naturalists have probably derived this rule, just quoted, from what is observed of those distinct genera of animals, the horse and the ass ; which, although they may procreate together, yet their issue, the mule, will not continue to do so ; and Providence may have so willed it for the purpose of preserving the different classes, orders, genera, and species of animals distinct.† An opinion, however, has been set forth, which if true, would ruin this supposition, that nature refuses procreation to animals of different species. It has been alleged that the Negro is the offspring of a white man with the *Ourang Outang* of Africa.‡ But the other opinion just referred to below, that there are *gradations* in the scale of human existence, as well as there is evidently in that of other animals, seems to be a position much more tenable. Indeed, throughout the whole of animated nature there seems to be some one link of existence connecting

* *Barron's* Univ. Dict. verb. *Species* ; see also *Johnson's* Dict. verb. *genus* and *species*.

† It was upon this presumption, most probably, that Mr. Charles White, of Manchester, England, in his treatise entitled "Gradations in Man," among other arguments to prove, "that the black man of Africa is of a different *species* from the white man of Europe," states, that "mulattoes are mules. They are not prolific." It is probable that he is under a mistake in this supposition. It has been alleged, however, by some writers, that in the West-Indies, the mulatto women are not so prolific as the blacks ; but this may be owing to their being more indiscriminately used, which will have that effect with white women.

‡ This opinion is quoted in a late American work, entitled, "A View of Ancient Geography," by *Robert Mayo*, M. D. in the original French, without mentioning the name of the author. "Quant a moi," says this French writer, "je suis et serai toujours persuade que les Negros n'ont ete produite que par cause indigne ci-dessus ; c'est a dire, par le melange de notre sang avec celui de l'ourang-outang."

the different classes and orders together in one continued chain. Thus the humming bird seems to be a link between the bird and the insect; the eel between the fish and the reptile; the hippopotamus between the fish and the quadruped; and thus the monkey or baboon between the human and brute creation; and so of many other species of animals, which might obviously be named. This idea seems to be pursued by one of the best of the English poets:

“Superior beings when ’t late they saw,
A mortal man unfold all nature’s law,
Admired such wisdom in an earthly shape,
And showed a *Newton* as we show an *ape*.”

On the supposition, that angels exist in the human form, though not of material yet of spiritual substance, possibly with the addition of wings, as religious imagination is fond of portraying them, there seems to be no absurdity in tracing the “gradations of man” from the angel to the monkey. We have the scriptures for our authority, that men were created but a little lower than angels. The first step in this gradation, therefore, next to the angel, would, without doubt, be a beautiful *white* woman; such as an accomplished belle of either Paris or London, or, if you please, of some of our northern cities of America; where they can boast of the alabaster neck, the ruby lip, and the roseate cheek. The next would be the Tartar and Chinese, with her tawny and cadaverous skin, her broad face, her high cheek bones, her flat nose, and her little eyes. The next would be the Southern Asiatic, far superior to the Tartar in the form of her person, delicate and slender; but unfortunately with a black unblushing face. Then would come the “Sable Venus,”* as some would have it, closing the procession of human beauty, with her ebony skin, woolly hair, her thick lips, her flat nose, her flat foot, and her gibbous shins; throwing around her an atmosphere of peculiar odour. Is the graduated scale here broke off? Alas! there are too many little features of likenesses to “the human face divine” in the description of the ourang-outang, and even in the baboon and the monkey. They must, therefore, follow in the rear of the foregoing train. Are the advocates for emancipation, at all events, prepared to admit the propriety of uniting the extremes of these evidently distinct orders of human beauty, of “amalgamating” the black with the white—

* See an “Ode to the Sable Venus,” inserted in Mr. Edwards’s History of the West-Indies.

in short, of introducing confusion into that regular *gradation* of human existence so plainly delineated by the hand of the Creator?

But these distinctive marks of *shape* and *colour* do not indicate, it is said, a real difference of *species*, because they arise from accident alcauses, such as *climate* and *habits of life*. "This argument from shape and colour," says our American writer last mentioned, "would be weak and futile if it was applied to *vegetables*, or to *animals* of any other kind." It is true, that with regard to *vegetables* or plants, the *sexual* system has been adopted into general use on the authority of the celebrated *Linnaeus*, in preference to the more ancient system of *shape* and *colour*. But whoever has a little learning in botany, knows, that, although the Linnaean system classes plants according to the number of their *stamina* and *styles*, yet in the description of a plant, pointing out the characteristics whereby it may be known, not only the *shape* of its root whether fibrous or bulbous, of its stalk whether erect or procumbent, of its leaves whether oval or round, serrated, or indented, but even the *colour* of its *corolla*, are all particularly described in order to distinguish the genus, species, or variety to which the plant belongs. Although, therefore, the ranunculus, the tulip, the auricola, and clianthus may acquire various colours by transplantation, yet nature has written her characteristics upon these plants too legible for the botanist to mistake them, and the variegated colouring on the petals of their flowers might have been originally so intended by the Creator. Man, however, according to his several and respective species, in every climate, is of an uniform colour, whatever it may be. *Albinos*, or spotted negroes have been sometimes mentioned and described; but it is agreed by all scientific men, that this appearance in such negroes is a disease, to which they are sometimes liable. Neither do "the changes that quadrupeds sustain by heat, cold, soil, climate, and food," present analogous proof, that these causes would effectuate the wide difference between the white European and the Negro. One of the instances, brought to illustrate this position, seems to be peculiarly unfortunate, and requires to be mentioned. In temperate climates, says our American author, as well as others before him, "sheep have fine *wool*—in hot climates they have *hair* instead of *wool*." Now, if a hot climate has the effect of changing wool into hair on one animal, is it not fair to demand a reason, why the same cause should not operate the same effect in another animal? The hair of Negroes in a hot climate is said to be thereby changed into

wool; but the wool of sheep is thereby changed into hair. Has this difference in the effect from the same cause ever been satisfactorily explained? None of the advocates for the effects of climate in changing the colours of men, have ever, to my knowledge, undertaken to account for this. Until they do, it follows, that it must be considered as one of the most invariable and indelible distinctions of a different species of the race of man.

Nor can it be observed, that this peculiar distinction in the *hair* or *colour* of the Negro, even under the lapse of centuries, exhibits the slightest changes from the effects of climate. Nature generally works in an uniform manner—the same causes generally producing the same effects. If then, a hot climate could, in the lapse of two thousand five hundred years, turn Ham's descendants black, and alter their hair from a smooth straightness to a rough crispness, the same cause reversed, that is, a cold climate would, as we naturally suppose, in the same space of time, restore those descendants to their primitive colour, and their hair to its original straightness. Again, we are to suppose, that this alteration of their hair and colour was not sudden, but gradual; and in like manner, on a change of climate, that the return of their hair and colour to its primitive state would also be gradual. Now, it is very certain, that Negroes have been in Virginia and Maryland about one hundred and eighty years, and nearly as long in some of the older New-England States, that is, about one fourteenth part of the time beforementioned requisite to turn them black. But has it ever yet been remarked, that the slightest variation, among those of the genuine breed, either as to colour or hair, from those immediately from Africa, could possibly be perceived? To prove that the colour of their skin or the state of their hair is owing to climate, they ought now to have faded from their original blackness one fourteenth part, that is, they ought to have become so much lighter coloured, and their hair so much straiter.* It is stated, indeed, by our American writer last cited, that “the Negroes on Long-Island, in the State of New-York, whose ancestors were imported by the original Dutch colonists, above one hundred years ago have lost their flat nose, their thick lips and arched shins;” but he does not venture to state that they have lost their black skin and frizzled wool. Indeed, in another part of his work, he candidly confesses, that “the cases are few, if any, in which we are credibly informed, that a race of men perfectly black

* See the Appendix, Note II.

have become white again. But this process," he conceives, "would require much longer time than is necessary to effect the opposite change." Why so? it might be asked of him; for he assigns no reason for it. *Cessante causa cessat effectus* seems to be an established rule of philosophizing. Take away the cause, that is, a hot climate, which can be done only by removing to a cold one, the effect, to wit, blackness must cease, and the man become fair again. The first before-mentioned author has, indeed, as before stated, endeavoured to maintain, that neither white nor black was "the original complexion of mankind." They must, therefore, have been of a light or dark *brown*, commonly called swarthy. Then, suppose that Noah and his children were of a *brown* complexion. Remove the Negro to a cold climate, and he ought in process of time become brown; for, the efforts of nature to restore the man to his primitive natural colour would be uniform and constant; and, the accidental cause of a hot climate ceasing by his removal, some degree of approximation to the primitive colour should immediately commence on his removal. So again, remove the white man to a hot climate, he ought to be immediately in a state of progression towards his primitive brownness. But, although this last position is asserted to be true, yet it must be understood only of the change of the colour of his face and hands, upon which the sun or heat acts. The man remains as fair as ever under his clothes. It has been asserted, also, that Negroes are white when they are born; but this, certainly, is not so, or the fact would be generally known and spoken of in the American States.

The advocates for the doctrine, that climate is the cause of blackness in negroes, being aware that their arguments would be imperfect, did they prove only, that any one individual man might be turned black by the rays of a hot sun in a warm climate, go further and undertake to assert, "that the colour (blackness) endued becomes *hereditary*." This position becomes necessary, by their inability to prove, that negro children are born white. But the author of the "Observations on Climate," before referred to, who thus relates this *hereditary* quality of blackness of the skin, thus acquired by the effects of the sun, uses no arguments to prove it; and seems to suppose it to flow, as a kind of corollary from the problem, that climate produces blackness; which, as he supposes, he has proved. But it is evident, that climate might produce blackness on the skin, as it does on the hands and face of every man exposed to a hot air and sun, and yet it does not therefore follow, that a man, thus having his skin

tanned or rendered brown by the sun, should transmit this brown colour to his children. We often see the young children of swarthy labouring men beautifully fair. The operations of the sun and air, in discolouring the skin, are external, and act only on the superficies of the human frame; but the *hereditary* qualities of children, which they derive from their parents, (as a brown or fair complexion, for instance,) are constitutional and engrafted in their internal structure.

Nither does there appear to be much foundation for the "observation" of the author, "that certain *habits of living* have similar effects;" which he exemplifies by the "Jews, who, differing from other people in many *articles of food*, often differ in complexion from the nation *among whom they live*." But it seems to be certain, that Jews retain their peculiar *hereditary* swarthinness or brownness of complexion, in whatever country and in whatever climate they live; which is the more observable, as they are known to be dispersed into almost every country on the surface of the earth. They must, in a great degree, conform to the "*habits of living*," particularly in that of *food*, which happens to be prevalent in the country which they inhabit. In London, where the inhabitants are supposed to be the fairest of Europeans, and Jews have lived in times almost beyond the records of the history of the English nation, and feed, except in the abstinence from pork, much as the other inhabitants do, on beef and mutton, they nevertheless retain their original complexion, which they are reported always to have had, and transmit that lucid brownness of skin, for which they are remarkable, from generation to generation. But more is to be made of this exemplification of the Jews, than our author intended. It seems at once to rebut all supposition, that *climate* will alter the colour of the skin, so as that such colour shall become hereditary; for then, the Jews ought to vary in the colour of their skin and complexion, according to the variety of climates, which they inhabit. This our author contends to be the case. But certainly general report concerning them is otherwise. As conclusive proof on this subject, he adduces what he calls "a remarkable discovery lately made in the East-Indies," in the year 1806, on the Malabar coast, "of many *synagogues of Jews*. Some of these Israelites or Jews are white; others of them are black. The white Jews live near the coast. The black Jews live at some distance from the coast; near the mountains or among them. The white Jews are counted enemies to the black Jews. It is established by tradition and by the

concurring evidence of authentic records, that the black Jews had settled in India long before the christian æra. It is also admitted, that they settled there before the white Jews; and the station they occupy, is a sufficient evidence of the fact. The white Jews have no ancient historical records nor manuscripts among them; but the black Jews have copies of the law in their record chests." With this account of these Jews, somewhat more at large, but substantially as just stated, he thus closes this branch of his subject, with the following corollary. "It is fully established, that by living in India, two thousand years or more, near the tenth degree of latitude, a detachment from a white nation are become black. If this shall not be taken for a proof, that climate blackens the skin, all reasoning on the subject is useless."

This respectable author, in the outset of this his statement of the preceding facts, has delivered some symptoms of a deficiency of information in relation to these synagogues of Jews in India. Neither Dr. Buchanan nor Dr. Kerr were the first discoverers of these Jews on the Malabar coast, in the year 1806, as he states. They must have been known to the Portuguese, the first European discoverers of that coast; but most certainly to the Dutch, who conquered the fort of the Malabar coast from the Portuguese, where these Jews are said to have so long dwelt, about the year 1662. Within a few years after this conquest by the Dutch, about the year 1695, Mynheer *Van Reede*, a Dutch gentleman, published a succinct history of these Jews, translated from the Hebrew into low Dutch. They are therein stated to have "declared themselves to be of the tribe of *Manasseh*, a part whereof was by Nebuchadnezzar carried to the most eastern province of his large empire, which, it seems, reached as far as *Cape Camorin*."* But the history, from whence we have made this extract, states nothing relative to any difference of colour among these Jews. Not having Dr. Buchanan's "*Discourses and Researches in Asia*" to examine, I have had recourse to some extracts from, and remarks on, that work, in a periodical publication, entitled, "*The Christian Observer*," republished in the "*Select Reviews*" of this country for 1812; where the editor of the "*Observer*" makes this observation: "The black Jews appeared to Dr. Buchanan to have arrived in India many ages before the white Jews; and so much had they been assimilated by inter-marriages to the *Hindoos*, that it was sometimes difficult to distinguish them." It may be strongly suspected, that this

* See this more fully stated in the *Mod. Univ. Hist.* Vol. x. page 499.

last-mentioned fact would unravel the whole mystery. So far from the station, which the white Jews occupied on the coast, being evidence, that the black Jews, who settled in the interior part of the country, arrived first in India, it seems to be rather evidence to support a contrary supposition. This voyage along the coast from the territories of ancient Babylon, down the Persian Gulf and along the coast of the peninsula of India, seems quite as probable as their journey thither by land. As to "tradition and authentic records," proving the priority of the *black* Jews in their settlement in India, they may be very plausibly accounted for somewhat in this way. A part of the original Jews, thus migrated into India, might have acted so inconsistently with the tenets of this sect, as to "intermarry with the black Hindoos." Originally a swarthy people, they would soon, by their intermarriages, have become black. The principal Jews, resident on the coast, who were white, would naturally be displeased with their brethren for their conduct. Quarrels among them on that account, might probably have ensued. But those who had intermarried with the Hindoos and had thus become black, would be stronger and more powerful, having the native Hindoos to back them. They would, therefore, have seized upon the records brought with them from Babylon or Palestine, and, availing themselves of this possession of their sacred documents, assumed from this circumstance a superior reputation of antiquity. The acknowledgment of these black Jews, that "from their vicinity to the white Jews, they had been supplied from time to time with the Old Testament," (as stated by Dr. Buchannan himself in his letter on the subject,) seems strongly to corroborate this supposition. But further, if climate has thus operated upon this "detachment from a white nation," so as to change their colour to black, why has it not operated in some degree also upon the remainder part of them, who followed the former, as we may suppose, in a few centuries afterwards? In a letter, which the Jews of *Cochin*, (who are the Jews on the coast, and therefore the *white* Jews,) wrote to the Jews of Amsterdam, they state, "that they retired into the Indies, when the Romans conquered the Holy Land; and that they have had seventy-two kings, who succeeded each other within the space of a thousand years."* Surely, if climate has any power to turn a race of people *black*, it ought, in that period of time, to have caused some slight approximation to that colour. But the Jews of *Cochin*, it seems, are still *white*.

It is not improbable, that "intermarriages" may also account for another fact stated by our American author in his

* *Mod. Univ. Hist.* Vol. xiii. page 452.

"Observations on Climate," in support of his opinion, that climate will change the colour of man. "A colony of Portuguese," says he, "who settled at *Mitamba*, in Africa, are become black, with crisped hair; they are only distinguished by their language from the aborigines." For this he cites a pamphlet entitled, "Account of the Trade of Great Britain with Africa." But the fact to which he alludes, is more correctly stated in a more authentic work, *Mitamba*, is another name, or perhaps the more proper one, for the river *Sierra Leone*, on what is called the *Malaguetta* or Grain Coast of Africa; where the English colony of blacks have been lately settled. The French were the first Europeans who were possessed of the trade in these ports, as far back as about the year 1336; but were dispossessed thereof by the Portuguese. These, for a number of years, retained possession of small settlements on this coast; but the great advantages derived by them from this commerce, having excited the emulation of the English and Dutch in 1664, their power began to give way to the more warlike and commercial spirit of these rivals. They lost, gradually, all their settlements, and *being forced to retire into the interior countries*, they resolved, as the last effort, *to unite themselves with the natives by marriage*; whence sprung the mixed progeny of *mulattoes* more numerous here than in any part of Guinea. These *African Portuguese* have established an extensive power in many parts of Africa; their complexion and alliances gaining them every where the liberty of commerce. These *mulattoes* have introduced, all along this coast, a kind of corrupt *Portuguese* language, (no more understood in Lisbon than Arabic, as the author states,) which is used by all the negro interpreters, when they explain any thing to the Europeans.* Now, here we have a plain unembellished account of our American author's "colony of Portuguese become black with crisped hair;" that is, the Portuguese settlers on the continent of Africa, have, by intermarriages with the natives, become *mulattoes*; precisely the invariable fate of all the inhabitants of the southern States of America, should the Society, now formed for colonizing the blacks, fail in their proposed purposes.

Although we have already occupied more space in this part of our subject, than was originally intended or could be well spared, yet the reader's patience is solicited, for a few remarks further, on what our American author (Mr. Williamson) has said, in answer to the fact of the uniformity of colour of our American aborigines. "On the whole continent of

* The above account of these Portuguese *mulattoes* is taken, almost *verbatim*, from the *Mod. Univ. Hist.* Vol. xvii. p. 226, 214.

America," he admits, "there is not a black Indian;" but to this he adds, "nor is there a spot for which a black skin is required, no winds prevail in America, that rise on a hot surface or a sandy desert; nor is there any large tract, within the tropics, that is remarkably hot." The celebrated traveller, *Humboldt*, whose works have been published, I believe, since Mr. Williamson wrote, seems to give a different statement of the continent of America "within the tropics." In the abridged views of *Humboldt's* work, entitled "*Tableau Physique des Regions Equatorales*," &c. given to us by the learned editor or editors of the "*Edinburgh Review*," a part of the journey of *Humboldt* and his companion *Bonpland*, through the tropical regions is thus described:*

"From Porto Cabello," which is in the province of Caraccas, "our travellers, directing their course southwards, crossed on horseback to the vast plains of Calaboza, Apure, and Oronoco.† They next traversed the famous Llanos, an immense succession of deserts, stretching near two hundred miles on a dead level, absolutely destitute of springs or rivulets, and only covered with a tall rank herbage. Over this desolate and pathless expanse they journeyed for whole days without meeting a single shrub, or a solitary cabin to refresh the eye; while they suffered, besides, extremely from the intense confined heat, which rose to one hundred and ten or one hundred and fifteen degrees of Fahrenheit's scale."

We might suppose this heat to be sufficient either to burn the skin black or to crisp the hair. But the remarks of *Humboldt*, as to this subject, are mere pointed.

"The observations of *Humboldt* throw a steady light on the constitution and habits of the native Indians. The same copper-coloured race appears scattered over the greater part of the continent of America. It is not, however, of that unvaried hue, which authors have described; nor do the shades of complexion even follow what has been deemed the law of climate. The natives of the temperate tract of New-Spain are in general of a deeper cast than the inhabitants of the hottest parts of South America."

These facts seem to suggest strong grounds for supposition, that "the shades of complexion do not follow the law of climate" in other quarters of the world. If the aboriginal inhabitants of America, in the more "temperate tracts"

* Not being able to have recourse to the original work of *Humboldt*, I have supposed that an abridged substance of it would be sufficient for our present purpose. The talents and learning of the gentleman who was the principal editor of the *Edinburgh Review*, about the year 1810, (the time of the review of the above work,) was unquestionable, and, where his mind was unbiassed by politics, as we may suppose it to have been in the present instance, his statement of a work may be safely followed.

† According to the map of South America in *Robertson's* History of America, the town of Calaboza is in about 8 deg. of north latitude, and in about 48 deg. 30 min. longitude, west from Ferro. The river Apure empties into the Oronoco, in about 7 deg. north latitude.

therefore, are "of a deeper cast than those of the hottest parts" of this continent, it would appear to create an irresistible inference, that neither climate nor heat are the true and real causes of the various colours of mankind. Our American author, however, as if aware of this strong conclusion against him, endeavours to counteract it, by observing, that the Andes, alleged to be the highest mountains in the world, cool the air of the whole southern part of our continent. This certainly is not satisfactory; for, this fact may well be doubted, after what has been stated as above by Humboldt. Besides, according to Major Rennell's improved map of Africa, inserted in *Ali Bey's Travels*, before cited, there runs a vast ridge of very high mountains, called the mountains of *Kong*, possibly (for they have not yet been sufficiently explored by Europeans) as high as the Andes, commencing near the Atlantic Ocean, in about 12 deg. of north latitude, and extending from thence due east more than half way across the continent. On both sides of these mountains the negroes are the blackest of any in Africa; Nigritia, or Negro-Land, a tract of fertile country, lying along their northern, and Guinea on their southern exposure. By parity of reasoning, these mountains ought to cool the air so, that these negroes ought to have the complexion of the American Indians.

Before we quit this part of our subject, although the mere quotation of authors, as authorities to support a favourite theory is not the best mode of proving the truth of it, yet as those who oppose the opinion—that the colour of Negroes is the mere effect of climate, are accused of being infidels in the doctrine of divine revelation, in denying the origin of mankind from one common parentage, it will be proper to cite here the opinion of that "Christian Virtuoso" and celebrated chymist and natural philosopher, the honourable Mr. *Boyle*, whose philosophical works have placed him next in rank, in the honours of English philosophy, to lord Bacon and sir Isaac Newton. In his tract, entitled, "Experiments and Observations upon Colours," he has entered into an inquiry into the cause of *blackness* in the negroes:

"The cause of blackness," he observes, "in whole nations of Negroes, has been long disputed by learned men. However, I shall freely acknowledge, that this inquiry seems more abstruse to me than it does to many others; because, consulting many authors and travellers, to satisfy myself in matters of fact relating to it, I have met with some things among them, which seem not to agree with the notion of the most classic writers upon this head. It is commonly presumed, that the *heat of the climates* inhabited by Negroes, is the cause of their colour; and this principally, be-

cause we plainly see, that mowers, reapers, and other country people, who spend the most part of the summer days in the heat of the sun, have the skin of their hands and faces, which are immediately exposed to his rays, of a dark colour, and tending to blackness. But this argument seems far more specious than convincing; for though the heat of the sun may darken the colour of the skin, yet experience doth not show, that heat alone is sufficient to produce a discolouration, which shall amount to a true blackness, like that of the Negroes. Besides, in many parts of Asia, under the same parallel, or in the same degree of latitude with the African regions, inhabited by blacks, the people are but tawny. And in Africa itself, many nations in the empire of Ethiopia are not negroes, though situate in the torrid zone, and as near the equinoxial, as other natives, that are black,

“But further, eminent authors inform us, that there are Negroes in Africa, not far from the Cape of Good Hope, and consequently beyond the southern tropic; and out of the torrid zone, about the same latitude to the north, there are many *American* nations, that are not Negroes. Nay, I find, by our latest accounts of *Greenland*, that the inhabitants there are olive-coloured, or rather of a darker hue.

“There is another opinion as to the complexion of the Negroes not only embraced by many of the vulgar writers, but by men of eminence and learning, who would have their blackness an effect of Noah’s curse upon Cham. But though a naturalist may safely believe all the miracles attested by the holy scriptures, yet in this case to fly to a supernatural cause, will, I fear, look like shifting off the difficulty, instead of solving it; for we here inquire not into the first and universal, but the proper, immediate, and physical cause of the blackness in Negroes. Besides, ’tis not expressed in scripture, that the curse meant by Noah to Cham, was the blackness of his posterity. But how is blackness a curse? for navigators tell us of black nations, who think so differently of their condition, that they paint the devil white.

“’Tis very probable that the principal cause of blackness in Negroes is some peculiar and *seminal impression*; for black children, brought over into these colder climates lose not their colour. And credible authors inform us, that the offspring of negroes, transplanted out of Africa above a hundred years ago, still retain the complexion of their progenitors; though possibly, in tract of time, it will decay; on the other hand white people removing into very hot climates, have their skins, by the heat of the sun, scorched into dark colours; though neither they nor their children are observed, even in the countries of Negroes, to descend to a true black.”

Although this eminent philosopher’s idea of “*seminal impression*” being the cause of blackness in Negroes, (by which he seems to explain, in a subsequent passage to that just quoted, as meaning something synonymous to marks impressed by accidental *fetus* in the womb,) is not likely to produce much stronger conviction on the minds of modern

readers, than the opinion of the effects of climate, which he so forcibly combats; yet, although he thus fails in substituting a probable cause of his own, he is, nevertheless, successful in destroying that of others, particularly that of climate.

I have now to apologize to the reader, for having led him further into the discussion of the effects of climate in colouring the human skin, than he may, perhaps, have thought necessary to our present purpose. But, as those religionists, who have been most strenuous in their exertions for the abolition of the slavery of Negroes in the American States, constantly dwell upon the crime of enslaving our *fellow-creatures*, and maintain that these Negroes are entitled to all the *rights* of mankind, placing them upon an equality with *white* men, I have thought it necessary to show what I conceive to have been the manifest design of the Creator of all things, that *they are an inferior species of mankind*, placed, as they have been, by accident among us, and cannot with propriety be admitted to an equal participation of the rights of our society. And further, that it being manifestly the divine will of the Supreme Being, in having created different species and races of mankind, an intermixture and amalgamation of them, if it should be possible, cannot be admitted without counteracting the divine purposes of that Supreme Being, in having created different species and races of mankind, an intermixture and amalgamation of them, if it should be possible, cannot be admitted without counteracting the divine purposes of that Supreme Being. But the *probability* is, that before this *possibility* could take place, an extermination of one of the two races will ensue. A demonstration of this horrible consequence belongs to another part of our subject.

It may, however, be necessary for the author, before he suffers his reader to pass to any other branch of this Essay, to protest against any inference being drawn from his endeavours to prove the existence of distinct *species* or races of mankind, that he therefore holds it lawful, on the principles of either justice or policy, to treat the blacks or negroes with cruelty in any manner. Were they on a level with the *brute* creation, which he is far from either believing or maintaining, yet they would even in that case be entitled to an exemption from any cruel treatment. That excellent system of laws, the common law of England, inflicts pecuniary punishment on any individual, who will treat his own brute beasts with any obviously unnecessary cruelty.* The

* This principle of the common law has been adopted in Pennsylvania. See a case in the first volume of *Dallas's Reports*, where a man was fined for beating a horse in a cruel and unmerciful manner.

pride of man has whispered in his ear, that all the animal creation was made for his use :

“And man for mine, replies the pamper’d goose.”

It does appear, indeed, to have been the original design of the Creator, that all carnivorous animals should prey upon each other ; each genus or species having some other one or more on which it delights to feed, and from which it derives sustenance. But, although animal food may be necessary for the sustenance of man, yet that by no means warrants him in the infliction of barbarous and cruel treatment even on such animals as are destined for his food. How much more, therefore, is humanity due to any one of the races or species of mankind. Nature, forbidding mankind to use each other for food, they are thereby forbid to inflict on each other either death or unnecessary cruelty. Although the laws of ancient states vested in the master the power of depriving his slave of life, yet the progress of civilization has taught us better and more humane sentiments.* As a species of mankind, the Negroes are entitled to all the rights of man. They are entitled, if you please, to their liberty : yes—but not to enjoy it so as to endanger, not only the peace and happiness, but the very *existence*, of another race of people. Man, it is said, is a gregarious animal ; but each species or race has a right to keep its flock from herding or mixing with others. Should chance or accident have brought two of these flocks together, the minor party must yield the exclusive right of the field and pasture to the majority. The latter have a right to drive the former to seek other haunts and other climes. To apply the allegory ; the *whites* have a right to say to the *blacks*, your residence with us is incompatible with our safety ; even could we tolerate the idea of an intermixture of the blood of our two races, yet there is too much probability, that ere that event could eventually take place, quarrels and contests would assuredly produce an extermination of one or the other of us. You are now our slaves, but we give you your liberty, provided you will quietly seek a home in some other country. If do not this willingly, we must remove you by force.

* It may not be improper to mention here, that the laws of South-Carolina either were, or are yet, consonant with the ancient Roman law on this subject. About ten years ago the owner of a negro slave in Charleston put him to death by laying his head on a block and chopping it off with an axe. He was arrested for a supposed crime ; but, it being proved, that he was the owner of the slave, the court discharged him, adjudging that he had not done an *unlawful* act. It is from such incidents among us, that Europeans, are induced to exclaim—“Is it not monstrous to hear the loudest yelps of liberty from negro-drivers?”

SECT. II.

As to the Policy and Necessity of the Measure.

THERE are few political measures, of which the people in their social state, or the constituted authorities of their government are called upon to take cognizance, upon which much *abstract* reasoning can be profitably exercised. The surest ground, upon which the *policy* of a measure is to be determined, is to form the judgment upon past events. It would be in itself useless to the people of these United States, especially those to the southward of Pennsylvania, to exhibit to them mere inferences, though almost irresistible, drawn from the nature of their mixed population, that either an intermixture of the two races of mankind, of which that population is composed, or a total extermination of the one or the other race, must inevitably be the consequence of the present state of things. The question has been often asked of these zealous enthusiasts for the unconditional emancipation of the Negroes in these States, with what propriety could you refuse to these *blacks* all their share of the *political* rights of our society, as well as the *civil*, for which you so warmly, I would say blindly, contend, fearless or regardless of the consequences of your zeal? When you have completely succeeded in your views of a total emancipation, can you still the voices of these unfortunate black people, when they come to the hustings of your elections, and demand their undeniable right to vote for those delegates and representatives, by whose laws they are to be bound? Are they not as much entitled to their *political* as their *civil* rights? Will they be contented with voting only? Will they not demand their right also to be elected to office, if they can obtain a majority of the voices of the *freemen* of their district? And in how many districts of the southern States would they not have a majority even of their own colour? When thus elected to office, and placed as a delegate or representative by the side of his white brethren, some of whom or whose immediate ancestors have perhaps inflicted the lash upon his black skin, or his ancestor, would he not look askant at them with a jealous eye? Rest assured, thou blind or hypocritical emancipator of slaves, that more formidable parties will arise in these States, with more inveterate and hostile feelings and sentiments towards each other, than either whig or tory, federalist or democrat, ever felt or

meditated towards each other. Compared with the obvious distinctions, which nature has written in *white* and *black*, visible to the eye, all other party-terms would be idle, abstract, unmeaning, and unintelligible epithets. There would be no sly changes from federalist to democrat, and from democrat to federalist, as best suited convenience. Each man would carry his indelible *political* character in his face. What *white* man would then dare to deny equal rights to the *blacks*? But further—when they have thus risen to an equal participation in the honours and dignities of the legislative, executive, and judicial branches of your government, and from the emoluments of office or otherwise have acquired equal wealth and power with the best of you, think you not, proud white man, that they will not demand your daughter in marriage? Yes: a motley race must be the consequence. We should never again hear a representative in Congress boasting of his Saxon ancestors. He might think himself happy, indeed, if he could boast of having in his veins the royal blood of some African prince. But believe me, thou blind or hypocritical advocate for unconditional emancipation, there is not the slightest probability, that these *white* and *black* parties would ever arrive at such friendly associations. Noyades, fusillades, the gallows or the guillotine, would long ere this period of their union, blot out all their differences and distinctions. Nor cherish it in thy vain imagination, thou professedly pacific religionist, that all thy busy factious labours for the emancipation of these blacks, will avail to arrest for a single moment the arm of thy murderer. Bound by stronger ties than the sentiment of gratitude—the sanction of an affiliated oath, under the preservation of his own life, he can spare no *white* human being. But I am anticipating another branch of my subject. Let us subdue our feelings so as to reason calmly, and endeavour to deduce our true *policy* on this occasion from the lessons of history.

Slavery as it existed in the ancient republics of Greece and Rome, furnishes no useful analogy to reason from in our case. There every slave was a *white* man. It was but to do him justice, to restore him to the rights of human nature, and, as a human being, he was immediately lifted to the level of any other white man in the community, with no discernible personal difference. So also of the *villeins* of Europe in the feudal ages; emancipated from their regardancy to the soil of the manor, to which they belonged, they became honest and respectable tenants. Another age saw them mixing in blood and association with their former lords and masters. They were all of the same white European race. The history of modern Europe, however, furnishes one soli-

tary instance, from which, as it would seem, some analogical deductions, illustrative of our present purposes may perhaps be drawn.

We have before supposed, that the ancient Mauritanians, or *Mauri* were descended from Phut one of the sons of Ham. It is also supposed, that a colony of Phenicians, migrating to the northern parts of Africa, and mixing with the descendants of Phut, contributed to form the nation called by the Romans *Mauri*. But these circumstances by no means warrant us in supposing that these *Mauri*, or Moors, who are in modern ages well known to be of a *tawny* colour, derived that complexion from their ancestors just mentioned. It is more probable, that they became so by a subsequent intermixture with the Negroes of Nigritia or Negro-Land. This is strongly corroborated by facts stated in the very recent travels of *Ali Bey*, beforementioned, who states, that the seraglio of every Mahometan of rank in that country, is half filled with black girls; and the emperor of Morocco, as a special mark of his favour to this learned Spanish traveller, presented him two wives, one of whom was *black*; a circumstance, that seemed not a little to embarrass the pseudo-mussulman. To this notorious intermixture the *tawny* colour of the Moor must be evidently traced; and this intermixture must have commenced long before their conquest of Spain, which took place in the early part of the eighth century. It is from this their conquest of that country, and long possession of it for almost nine hundred years, until the year 1609, when they were finally and completely expelled therefrom, we may draw a very satisfactory conclusion as to the difficulty of amalgamating two distinct races of people differing so essentially in almost every national characteristic, as the Moors, together with their leaders the Arabs or Saracens, did from the Spaniards, who were, at the time of that conquest mostly the immediate descendants of the *Goths*. It is true, that the irreconcilable repugnancy of their respective religions, the Christian and Mahometan, formed an invincible barrier against their union. But we are authorized in supposing, that the fair complexion of the *Goths*, originally a northern nation, could not easily be reconciled to an intermixture with that of the *tawny* Moor, and that this also formed no inconsiderable objection to it. Although some intermixture did actually take place, and hence is derived the well known swarthy complexion of the Spaniards at this day, yet the repugnancy of the ancient Spaniards to this intermixture may be strongly enforced from a fact often stated by the historians of Spain—that the highest pride of a Spanish grandee is to trace his pedigree from

some one of those illustrious Goths, who so nobly, in the mountains of Asturias, defended and maintained their liberty and independence from the barbarous incursions of the Moors and Saracens. When, therefore, the Negroes of this American Republic have overrun the better half of it, from Florida to Pennsylvania, as they most assuredly will in the present course of things, and have obliged their many-acred masters of Virginia and Carolina to become their tenants and vassals, as was the case in Spain with many an honest Goth to his Moorish master, and should it ever afterwards be the good fortune of our present republican lords, as it was of those of the Spanish nation, to regain the possession of their country, how many of them will be able, like the Spanish grandee, to boast the purity of their blood, uncontaminated by that of the African. But where are any Asturian mountains in America, for the southern white man to retreat to? If he seeks shelter on the Alleghanies, he is there met by the negroes of Kentucky and Tennessee. Should any white man of Maryland be so fortunate as to escape into the neighbouring State of Pennsylvania, he will be there told by the pacific quaker, with placid smiles, Friend, we have no room for thee here—return to thine own State, and submit to the blacks—it is proper that they should govern thee, as that thou shouldst govern them. Should we solicit aid from the New-Yorkers—alas! they are at this moment making sport of our fears. The very formation of this laudable society for the colonization of the blacks, is now the subject of their mirth.* How can we, therefore, expect any relief or assistance from them? Does not prudence, therefore, dictate to us our earliest diligence in adopting some arrangement which shall, if possible, prevent all these horrible consequences?

Some further inferences are to be drawn from this historical incident of the expulsion of the Moors from Spain. The

* A most unwarrantable attack on Mr. Clay, Speaker of the House of Representatives, has been made by a writer in, if not the editor of, a newspaper in New-York, entitled "The Courier," on account of his instrumentality in the formation of the above-mentioned Society at Washington. In the broken gibberish of a Negro, ridicule is attempted to be thrown on his character for his agency in this business. It does not appear to have been meant merely as an attack on Mr. Clay's political character, but an endeavour is manifested through the whole of the silly publication to exhibit a sort of argument to prove, that the negro is as much entitled to remain here and keep possession of this country, as any white man is. Can there be a greater enemy to his country existing in any part of these United States? For the honour of human nature, let us suppose the publication alluded to, to be the effusion of some silly scribbler, who, being flattered into a supposition that he is a man of *wit*, yet exhibits a total deficiency in that necessary quality of the mind—*judgment* in the exercise of it.

Spanish nation was divided into two parties concerning this measure; somewhat similar, it is to be apprehended, to a division of sentiment in America on the proposed colonization. The clergy in Spain were zealous for the expulsion. They affirmed, that being Mahometans, and daily encreasing in numbers, these Moriscoes, or race of Moors, would be constantly endeavouring to regain their conquests over the christians. The barons were opposed to it; for they were unwilling to lose their best tenants and cultivators of their soil. "It must be allowed," says the historian, "that the clergy spoke truth and sense in affirming it to be very dangerous to let them remain in Spain."* And we may add, that it is evident, that the Spanish grandees, like those of the United States on the present occasion, who oppose the scheme of colonization, were cherishing their temporary interests at the hazard of all the wealth, power, and even the existence of their posterity. The clergy, as those of Spain generally do, and properly in this case, finally prevailed. An edict for that purpose was subscribed by king Ferdinand, on the 11th of September, 1609, and eighty thousand families of Moors were transported at different times out of Spain into Barbary, where his Catholic majesty interposed his interest to procure them a good reception, and the best settlements that could be given them. Such also is the obvious policy of these United States.

We are now to pass on to one of the most solemn political lessons that history ever taught to a slave-holding nation. The dreadful massacre of a greater portion of the white population of St. Domingo, together with the total expulsion of the surviving part of them, by the negroes of that island, which occurred not many years since, affords an awful warning to enthusiasts in the cause of liberty, whether domestic, civil, or political, abundantly sufficient, as we should suppose, to deter all such zealots within these States, from indulging themselves in their intemperate and visionary schemes of enfranchisement, without the slightest regard to consequences. And here, as the author of this essay may unguardedly drop some harsh expressions, relative to the conduct of the advocates for the emancipation of slaves, and may thereby draw on himself some recriminating accusations, as being an advocate for slavery, he takes this occasion, once for all, to deny the charge. Freely would he manumit, at any moment, those few slaves which he holds, (in number about fifteen,) was their emancipation to be accompanied with a gradual deportation of them, as contemplated by their colonization. He

* Mod. Univ. Hist. Vol. xxi. page 340.

would then suppose, that he was thereby doing an act of benefit to his country, as well as relief to himself. But, in the present progress of things, the emancipators of slaves are obviously contributing to form gangs of plundering banditti, who must, in the nature of things, collect in a few years into formidable armies of insurrection, and commence a *servile war* more dangerous than that which once threatened the existence of the mighty republic of Rome. He is not, therefore, an advocate for the holding of slaves. By approving their colonization, he becomes an advocate for their emancipation, in the best, if not the only, mode in which it can be ever safely effected.

Prior to the American revolution, few disquisitions concerning the lawfulness of slavery appear in print. The courts of justice in England had, indeed, in one or two cases, particularly in one about the year 1772, decided against the legality of holding a negro in slavery within that kingdom. But in America, when the revolution here had made some progress, and French philosophical foreigners, as we may suppose, as well as some English writers, had expressed themselves with keen severity on the inconsistency and absurdity of our clamours for liberty, while we were at the same time holding so many wretched human beings in the most abject slavery, the subject seems to have been for the first time in America, brought to discussion. Accordingly, in Philadelphia, at that time the metropolis of the United Colonies, in the early part of the year 1781, some very ingenious and well-written publications appeared in *Bradford's* "Pennsylvania Journal," for and against domestic slavery. The advocate for slavery grounded himself on the Law of Nature and Nations, and on the sanction of the revealed law both of the Old and New-Testaments. On the former, by reason of the right of the captor in war to take the life of his captive, and consequently on the humane commutation of the death into slavery; on the latter, by a variety of quotations from both the Old and New-Testaments expressly authorizing it. But on the first ground, his opponent very properly denied the right of the captor, according to the modern usage of nations at war, to take the life of his captive; which effectually cut up the major proposition of the advocate for slavery, and consequently refuted his conclusions. But he was not so successful in his answer on the other ground, the law of divine revelation. It was in vain to urge the mild spirit of humanity, alleged to be the characteristic of a particular system, against its express letter; and, however desirable it might have been to bend the text to a desired construction, yet these quotations were too ob-

stinate for that purpose.* Although it is said, that the opposition to domestic slavery commenced with the Quakers in Pennsylvania, yet it does not appear, that these discussions, just referred to, emanated from any of that society.† This sect, however, appear to have commenced their opposition to it, coeval with these publications, if not prior to them; and with them, their religious society in England readily co-operated, it being a philanthropic doctrine quite congenial with the pacific principles of that sect, as well as the maxims of liberty recognised by the English laws. The population of Pennsylvania, moreover, comprised but a very few slaves, compared with the southern States; and so favourable an opportunity was now presented to that sect of displaying the pride of their principles—an uncommon philanthropy, that the *esprit de corps* of their society was excited to a high degree. In England this sect was joined in those philanthropic schemes by other religious enthusiasts; particularly by one gentleman in that country, high in rank for his wealth, talents, and public influence, Mr. Wilberforce. In consequence of these coincident circumstances a society was formed in that kingdom *for the relief of the blacks*. Enormous cruelties had been practised, as was well known, in the transportation of negro slaves from Africa to the British colonies; and as much the largest portion of the British dominions in America had been lopped off by the treaty of 1783, and the acknowledgment of the independence of their colonies on the American continent, the slave-trade, or rather the supply of their American colonies with slaves, became then a subject of minor consideration with most of the British statesmen. Mr. Pitt, therefore, warmly patronized Mr. Wilberforce's plan for suppressing that trade. The consequences were, acts of parliament, first for its regulation, and finally for its total suppression.

Whilst these sentiments, opinions, and proceedings, relative to slavery, were thus making a rapid progress both in America and in England, the French revolution commenced. That nation also had some colonies in America, containing a large population of negroes; of which, that of St. Domingo was the most considerable.‡ The seeds of liberty, which

* See the Appendix, Note III.

† Illiterate individuals among the Quakers in America, at different periods during the eighteenth century, had published small tracts against slavery, such as those of William Burling, Ralph Sandysford, Benjamin Lay, John Woolman, and Anthony Benezet. But these were written in their way, and on a mistaken supposition, that slavery was contrary to the gospel; and they, therefore, could have little effect, particularly with the best informed politicians of these States.

* The French port of St. Domingo contained, at this time, no less than 480,000 negroes in slavery, exclusive of free mulattoes, which latter were

were supposed to have been picked up by the French officers who served in America, being by them sown among their countrymen in France, produced the germs of their monstrous revolution. The white population of the French islands, it would seem, by their intercourse with America during their revolutionary war, imbibed also some free notions relative to the dependence of colonies on the mother country. Accordingly, within a few months after the volcano of enormities had burst forth on old France, the white colonists of St. Domingo took it into their heads, that they also had a right to be represented in the States General. Deputies were accordingly elected by them for that purpose, to the number of eighteen, who forthwith without any authority, either from the mother country or the colonial government, embarked for France, as the legal representatives of a great and integral part of the French empire. They arrived at Versailles in the latter end of June, 1789, about a month after the States General had declared themselves the National Assembly. But neither the minister, (Neckar,) nor the national assembly, were disposed to admit the full extent of their claims. The number of eighteen deputies from one colony was thought excessive, and it was with some difficulty that six of them only were admitted, on the fourth of July, 1789, to take their seats among the national representatives. In pursuance of the meditated design of the French revolutionists thoroughly to overturn the existing order of things in France, "declamations in support of personal freedom, and invocations against despotism of all kinds had been the favourite topics of many eminent French writers for a series of years; and the public indignation was now artfully raised against the planters of the West-Indies, as one of the means of exciting commotions and insurrections in different parts of the French dominions. This spirit of hostility against the inhabitants of the French colonies was industriously fomented and aggravated by the measures of a society, who called themselves, *Amis des Noirs*, (Friends of the Blacks.)* This

more numerous in the French than in the English West-India islands. See *Edward's Hist. W. Indies*. Vol. iv. page 13.

* In an American newspaper, entitled "The Maryland Journal," of April 9th, 1790, I find the following paragraph. "There has been lately established at Paris, a society, called *The Friends of the Blacks*. Among the founders of this society are three dukes, one dutchess, eight counts, seven marquisses, and two marchionesses. One of the latter is Madame de la Fayette, the wife of the marquis, whose own name is also enrolled as a member. The object of this society is, if possible, to prevent the African trade in future, which, if accomplished, it is expected that all actual slavery in the islands, &c. must, in the course of one or two centuries, cease of itself." It is impossible to conceive that one half of the members of such an association could be actuated by any other motive than mere ostentation; somewhat like our

society in France was originally formed on the model of a similar association in London, (before mentioned,) but the views and purposes of the two bodies took different directions. The society in London professed to have nothing more in view than to obtain an act of the legislature for prohibiting the further introduction of African slaves into the British colonies. They disclaimed all intention of interfering with the government and condition of the negroes already in the plantations; *publicly declaring their opinion to be, that a general emancipation of these people, in their present state of ignorance and barbarity, instead of a blessing, would prove to them a source of misfortune and misery.* On the other hand, the society of *Amis des Noirs* in France, having secretly in view to subvert the ancient despotism of the French government, loudly clamoured for a general and immediate abolition, not only of the slave-trade, but of the slavery which it supported.”*

Will it not be proper to remind the headstrong zealots of these States of the warning they ought here to take, in entertaining this same principle of “a general and immediate abolition of slavery.” If they could persuade every citizen of these States into a resolution of adopting their doctrine, as they endeavour to do, would not “a general and immediate abolition” of slavery be the consequence? And would not the same direful misfortune ensue as in St. Domingo? This demonstrates, that a total stop should immediately be put to emancipation, unless accompanied by transportation and colonization.

Let us pursue our extracts from this valuable historical lesson.

“At this juncture, a considerable body of the mulattoes, from St. Domingo and the other French islands, were resident in the French capital. Some of these were young people sent thither for education; others were men of considerable property, and many of them, without doubt, persons of intelligence and amiable manners. With these people the society of *Amis des Noirs*

Female Bible Societies. As to the poor weak marquis Fayette, an act of despicable cunning in him, relative to this society, is stated by a most respectable historian, (*Edwards*, in his *Hist. W. Indies*, vol. iv. page 67.) which, if true, would warrant the assembly of Maryland in repealing the law which made so unworthy a character a citizen of that State. “This man (Fayette) had formerly been possessed of a plantation at Cayenne, with seventy negro slaves thereon, which he had sold without any scruple or stipulation concerning the situation of the negroes, the latter end of 1789, and from that time enrolled himself among the friends of the blacks.” Here is an *Amis des Noirs* for you! He first sells his negroes, and then advocates the emancipation of them. A great philanthropist! provided it did not affect his interest. One would think that he had copied the conduct of some of his religious fellow citizens of Maryland.

* *Edwards's Hist. West Indies*, Vol. iv. 17.

formed an intimate connexion ; pointed out to them the wretchedness of their condition ; filled the nation with remonstrances and appeals on their behalf ; and poured out such invectives against the white planters, as bore away reason and moderation in the torrent."

In this disposition of the people of France towards the inhabitants of their colonies in the West-Indies, the national assembly, on the 26th of August, 1789, voted the celebrated *declaration of rights* ; the first position of which was, "all men are born, *and continue*, free and equal as to their rights." Now, this postulate, if understood in the popular sense of it, would prevent the unequal acquisition of property by any individual in society, and would then be a principle obviously false, pernicious, and unfit for every condition of civilized life. Besides, the application of it to the rights of negro slaves, even as to their personal liberty, has really no just relevancy as to the difficulties of slave-holders. Few men will deny the abstract position, that all men in a state of nature, could they happen to be so, have equal rights ; but, that they *continue* so, after they enter into a state of society, is not only contrary to the fact, but is, in the nature of things in that state, utterly impossible. Moreover, other persons in the same society have *rights* also, as well as the negroes ; and, if the negroes cannot be restored to their right of personal liberty without the destruction, not only of the *white* portion of the society, but even of the very *existence* of these whites, it is obvious, that *self-defence*, the first of all rights of human nature, demands that the negroes shall not obtain their right to *liberty*, at the expense of the right of *existence* inherent in the other party. But, suppose that the two races could both exist together, would not irreconcilable political dissensions be the natural consequences of their difference in colour ; and, for how many years must these dissensions subsist before a complete amalgamation of the two races could take place ? Alas ! this confederated republic, and all its boasted institutions, would, long ere this event could occur, be obliterated and exist only in the pages of history. There is one remark which occurs here, and which ought not to be omitted, and that is, supposing the negroes of these States to be perfectly equal, as to their rights, with the whites, and consequently entitled, upon the principle of equality of rights, to the full enjoyment of their personal liberty, and that this truth, though unknown to our ancestors, who introduced them as slaves into these colonies, is notwithstanding a self-evident truth at this day ; yet, it may be asked, are posterity answerable in all cases for the wicked or impolitic doings of their ancestors ? The Virginia planters, who bought the first

negroes from the Dutch, in the year 1620, that were landed in North America, did a very impolitic, and if you please, a wicked act. But, does it follow, therefore, that their descendants are answerable for their conduct in this respect, upon the principles of natural justice? It is enough for them to bear the evil with which their ancestors have saddled them, and it ought not to be required of them, by an attempt to atone for the misconduct of their ancestors, to bring on themselves incalculable misfortunes. Common prudence, and indeed self-preservation, requires them to look about themselves and pause, before they attempt to apply a remedy for the supposed injustice done near two hundred years ago to these African people. Upon the maturest reflection, it is now thought by some of the most judicious and discreet among us, that the most prudent measure is, to transplant them gradually out of these States into the land of their progenitors.

To pursue our historical lesson. These proceedings in the mother country alarmed the white French inhabitants of St. Domingo. They proceeded to form provincial assemblies in the three several provinces of the French part of the island, in order to consult about their situation, and to take measures relative to an order from the king, which had arrived in January, 1790, for the convocation of a *general* colonial assembly. Agreeably to the before-mentioned declaration of rights by the national assembly, the free mulattoes in the colony contended that they had a right to vote, and sit in these assemblies, and boldly took up arms to maintain their claim. They were for a time suppressed. They were not, however, without encouragement by some imprudent whites; as will assuredly be the case, in the insurrection that must take place in these States.

“A Mons. *Dubois*, deputy procurer-general, not only declared himself an advocate for the mulattoes, but, with a degree of imprudence which indicated insanity, sought occasions to declaim publicly against the slavery of the negroes. He was arrested, and sent out of the country. A Mons. *Ferrand de Beaudierre* also, was not so fortunate. This gentleman was unhappily enamoured of a woman of colour, to whom, as she possessed a valuable plantation, he had offered marriage, and being a man of warm imagination, with little judgment, he undertook to combat the prejudices of the whites against the whole class. He drew up, in the name and in behalf of the parochial committee, wherein, among other things, they were made to claim, in express words, the full benefit of the national declaration of rights. This memorial was considered as a summons to the negroes for a general revolt. The parochial committee seized the author, and committed him to prison; but the (white) populace took him from thence by force, and in spite

of the magistrates and municipality, who exerted themselves to stop their fury, put him to death."

Are there not some white gentlemen in the State of Maryland conducting themselves, exactly in the same manner, though properly with greater impunity? Were there none among those who were lately, (in 1816.) so active in procuring signatures to a memorial to the assembly of Maryland to prevent the transportation of negroes out of the State, actuated by similar unfortunate attachments? The Quakers too, always so factious in these matters, do they suppose, that, when the day of massacre comes, they will will be spared by both sides?

The general colonial assembly held at St. Mare, issued a remarkable decree on the 20th of May, 1790, by which they seem to have meant to place the island of St. Domingo nearly in a state of independence on the mother country; but which created such a division among the white colonists there, as brought them to the point of a civil war. It is remarkable also, that this decree gave equal displeasure to the democratic as well as the royalist parties in old France. Both equally averse to lose the pickings of the province, should the colonists thereof be allowed that degree of independence, which they seem to have aimed at by their decree, they both joined in decrying it. The *Amis des Noirs* fell to work in stimulating the mulattoes, then resident at Paris, against the white colonists on account of this decree.

"A young mulatto man, then in Paris, of the name of *James Oge*, had been introduced to the meetings of the *Amis des Noirs*, under the patronage of Gregoire, Brissot, La Fayette, and Robespierre, the leading members of that society; and was by them initiated into the popular doctrines of *equality* and the *rights of man*. Here it was, that he first learnt the miseries of his condition; the cruel wrongs and calamities to which he and all his mulatto brethren were exposed in the West-Indies, and the monstrous injustice and absurdity of that prejudice, "which" said Gregoire, "estimating a man's merit by the colour of his skin, has placed at an immense distance from each other, the children of the same parent, a prejudice, which stifles the voice of nature, and breaks the bands of fraternity asunder."*

* This Abbe Gregoire was originally a curate in some country town in France, but having a mind filled rather more with politics than religion, procured himself to be elected as a deputy to the states-general at the commencement of the French revolution. He was the first of those of the clerical order, who joined the *Tiers Etat*, and afterwards the first ecclesiastic, who took the constitutional oath. In return for these indications of revolutionary zeal, he was made bishop of *Blois*, before the abolition of christianity. Hence his great anxiety to carry on the French revolution and the christian system together; but he was denounced by *Bourdon de l'Oise*, as wishing to christianize the revolution, "christianiser la revolution;" and, therefore,

"That these are great evils must be frankly admitted, and it would have been fortunate if such men as Brissot and Gregoire, instead of bewailing their existence and magnifying their extent, had applied their talents in considering of the best practicable means redressing them."

Excellent advice to the *Amis des Noirs* of America ; but perhaps the next paragraph applies to them also.

"But these persons had other objects in view ; their aim was, not to reform, but to destroy ; to excite convulsions in every part of the French empire ; and the ill-fated Oge became the tool, and was afterwards the victim of their *guilty ambition*."

It is true, that it cannot with certainty be said, that the *Amis des Noirs* of the United States have a direct intention "to destroy" their own existing government. But most of them have a "guilty ambition" of two sorts. These *Amis des Noirs*, in Maryland and the southern States, are chiefly composed of two religious sects remarkable for their fanaticism ; the Methodists and the Quakers. In Maryland particularly, the individual members of these sects are, for the most part, to be found among the lower and poorer classes of people. They have not only an "ambition" to distinguish themselves in the world for an uncommon philanthropy, of which the Quakers particularly have received their tone from the, perhaps well-meant, opinions of the better sort of their sect in Philadelphia and England, but much of the endeavours of both sects in Maryland, in relation to the eman-

without doubt, became silent on that head. He, however, persevered in his philippics against Louis XVIth ; for there he was safe, and his invectives against the monarch covered his christian sins. Being a member of the *Amis des Noirs* and of the national assembly at the same time, he was one of the most furious as well as formidable zealots in behalf of the *sans meles* or *gens de couleur*, (mulattoes) against the planters of St. Domingo.

Brissot was a man of some literary genius, and, it is said, possessed considerable talents for eloquence ; but was totally destitute of that useful quality of the mind—judgment. It appears from his "Travels in America," that of all men who had seen so much of the world, he was the most liable to imposture. His mind seems to have been perfectly deranged, when he speaks of such visionary enthusiasts as Warner Mifflin and Anthony Benezet. Accordingly, when he returned to France, he did not fail to become one of the most zealous members of the society of *Amis des Noirs*, and, like the advocates for unconditional emancipation in the United States, was blind to the horrible consequences that were to flow from his attempts to disorganize the state of society, as it then existed in St. Domingo. It is possible, however, that afterwards, when the executioner was pinioning his arms on the scaffold of the guillotine, a faint ray of reason might have flashed across his mind, so as to have enabled him to see through all his clouds of error. But it was too late ; the blood of the planters had flowed too copiously. Most of them were, before that event, murdered ; and but a small remnant saved themselves by flying into exile. In like manner, what satisfaction will it be to a planter in our southern States, when a similar butchery between the blacks and whites comes on, to be told by one of these religious enthusiasts, "I did not think it would have come to this."

cipation of the blacks, may be fairly traced to another sort of "ambition," of a most detestable kind; an "ambition" to elevate themselves by reducing all slave-holders of considerable property and distinction in society, to a *level* with themselves. Any one, who will scrutinize with a penetrating eye the structure of society in our southern States, cannot fail in being struck with the general prevalence of this sort of vile useless "ambition," or rather envy, among the lower classes of our community. Hence, with these, who entertain these sentiments, all means of seducing the objects of it to humility and degradation, become grateful to their eyes; and they would even hazard their own destruction to accomplish their views in this respect.

"This young mulatto man, Oge, had been led to believe, that the whole body of coloured people in the French islands were prepared to rise up, as one man, against their oppressors; that nothing but a discreet leader was wanting, to set them into action; and, fondly conceiving that he possessed, in his own person, all the qualities of an able general, he determined to proceed to St. Domingo by the first opportunity. To cherish the conceit of his own importance, and animate his exertions, this society of *Amis des Noirs* procured him the rank of lieutenant colonel in the army of one of the German Electors."

"As it was found difficult to export a sufficient quantity of arms and ammunition from France, without attracting the notice of the government, and awakening suspicions among the planters resident in the mother country, the Society resolved to procure those articles in North-America, and it was recommended to Oge to make a circuitous voyage for that purpose. Accordingly, being furnished with money and letters of credit, he embarked for New-England, in the month of July, 1790."

Arriving, in due time, into some port within the New-England States, he soon, with his money and credit, procured the requisite quantity of arms and ammunition, and moreover an American vessel in which they should be transported to St. Domingo, together with himself and suite.

"Arriving at St. Domingo, he secretly landed there from an American sloop, on the 12th of October, 1790, and found means to convey, undiscovered, the arms and ammunition which he had purchased, to the place which his brother had prepared for their reception."

Thus we see, that the christian people of these United States became, either voluntarily or involuntarily, the aiders and abettors of the first horrible murders and cruelties that were perpetrated in St. Domingo.

"The first notice which the white inhabitants received of Oge's arrival was from himself. He despatched a letter to the governor, (Peynier,) wherein he demanded in very imperious terms, *that*

the privileges enjoyed by one class of inhabitants (the whites) should be extended to all persons without distinction; declares himself the protector of the mulattoes, and announces his intention of taking up arms in their behalf, unless their wrongs should be redressed."

"He and his brothers having exerted themselves to the utmost in spreading disaffection and exciting revolt among the mulattoes, they established their camp, (consisting of about two hundred followers,) at a place called *Grande Rivierre*, about fifteen miles from Cape Francois. The first white man that fell in their way they murdered on the spot: a second, of the name of Ticard, met the same fate; and it is related, that their cruelty towards such persons of their own complexion as refused to join in the revolt was extreme. A mulatto man of some property being urged to follow them, pointed to his wife and six children, assigning the largeness of his family as a motive for wishing to remain quiet. This conduct was considered as contumacious, and it is asserted, that not only the man himself, but the whole of his family were massacred without mercy."*

It is sufficient for our present purpose here to mention, that Oge and his mulatto army were, by the vigorous exertions of the inhabitants and planters of the Cape and its environs, defeated, and he and his brother and another follower were constrained to take refuge in the Spanish part of the island. They were, however, subsequently demanded by the French governor, from the Spaniards, who delivered them to the French. The wretched Oge and his lieutenant, Chevane, were soon afterwards put to a most cruel death, and this first insurrection of the mulattoes was, apparently, suppressed. It deserves to be added, however, that *Rigaud*,

* In confirmation of this part of Mr. Edwards's history, (though it needs none,) may be cited a paragraph from the "Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser," of December 7th, 1790, (under the Philadelphia head,) purporting to be an "Extract of a Letter from a gentleman at Cape Francois, to his friend in this city," (Philadelphia,) "dated October 31st, 1790."

"The disturbances in this place are at this time very great. Yesterday the inhabitants of the Cape drew lots to determine who should march against the free people of colour, who do great mischief in the plain, since the arrival of one *Augel*, who is at their head, and who lately came from France by the way of New-England. The pretensions of this man arise from the second article of the bill of rights, drawn up in the national assembly; by which all men are declared to be free and equal. They, therefore, contend that people of colour ought to enjoy rights equal to ours here. If this levelling principle should be adopted, the colony is lost for ever. They have taken very wrong methods of procuring the enjoyment of the rights they lay claim to. They began by plundering the planters of their money and arms, and have killed two or three of the principal among them, and wounded four besides. They have also taken one thousand guineas from another planter. They have with them some field-pieces, and retire among the mountains; they are four hundred in number. By an express extraordinary, arrived this afternoon, we hear of an engagement that happened twenty-four miles from this place, in which many of them have been killed, and three of the whites wounded: We are to send a supply of fresh troops and some field-pieces, in addition to twelve hundred armed men, that have already marched from the Cape."

another leader of the mulattoes at this time in another quarter of the island, openly declared, "that it was a transient and deceitful calm, and that *no peace would be permanent until one class of people had exterminated the other.*" A prediction too faithfully and unfortunately verified!

Here then, in this summary detail of the earliest horrors of St. Domingo, the commencement only of its final misfortunes, an important lesson of instruction might be read to our American *Amis des Noirs*. Here we are enabled to trace the true primitive causes of all those horrors. In the first place, in the false and unfounded proposition of the national assembly, "that all men were born and *continue* free and equal in their rights;" and in the next place, in that hypocritical or blind and blood-thirsty conduct of the members of the society of *Amis des Noirs* in Paris. One would have supposed, that they would have been contented in maintaining the abstract proposition of the national assembly, without lending their patronage and their purses to organize and arm a formidable banditti of mulattoes to butcher their white brethren and fellow-citizens of the colony. What shall we say too of the *puritanic* christian inhabitants of New-England? Could the paltry profit, to be derived from the sale of arms and ammunition, justify these saints in putting the sword and the dagger into the hands of a band of murderous mulattoes, and privy, as they must have been, to the purposes for which these arms and ammunition were intended, in thereby aiding and abetting the most horrible butchery of men of their own species, to them unoffending? Is not this an earnest of what they are capable, when their fellow-citizens of the southern States come to experience the same calamities as the whites of St. Domingo? There is something in religious fanaticism, especially when it takes an erroneous direction, that tends to harden the heart and give it a callousness beyond any other operation of the human mind; and this unrelenting hardness of heart is sometimes even effected by hypocritical religionists, in order to keep up some appearance of sincerity. The deliberate cruelty of the saints in New-England in supplying these mulattoes of St. Domingo with arms and ammunition, and the wilful, cool, and obstinate perseverance of our *Amis des Noirs* in Maryland, in their disorganizing proceedings, can be attributed to no other causes. The enormities of the French revolution have been falsely alleged to have flowed from the dictates of philosophy. This is not a place to demonstrate the falsity of this charge, or it could be easily done. The society of *Amis des Noirs*, as appears from the statement before given of the character of its members, consisted

principally of persons professing to be zealous for the support of the christian religion, particularly Gregoire. and, as we may suppose, Fayette, with all the train of dutchesses, and marchionesses, who served to countenance its proceedings. It is true, that some philosophical deists might also have been of the number, and Brissot might, perhaps, be of this class of revolutionists; though, his character, in this respect, as would appear from his "Travels," seemed to be rather equivocal. However, with the destruction of Brissot and what was called the Gironde faction, historians date the expiration of the influence of philosophy in the progress of that horrible revolution. But the *christian* Gregoire continued his career with Robespierre. Blood! Blood! was his cry. He announced to the assembly, "that, under a conviction of the unremitting treachery of that perjured monarch, (Louis XVI.) *he solicited his condemnation without an appeal to the people.*" As an *Amis des Noirs* we see him again instigating and abetting the mulattoes to cut the throats of Frenchmen; for he appears, from the first commencement of the society, to have been the principal leader and corresponding secretary thereof.*

"While these shameful enormities," (as before stated,) "were passing in St. Domingo, the society of *Amis des Noirs* in the mother country, were but too successfully employed in devising projects which gave birth to deeds of still greater horror, and produced scenes that transformed the most beautiful colony in the world into a field of desolation and carnage." "It was now resolved by Gregoire, La Fayette, Brissot, and some other 'pestilential reformers,' to call in the supreme legislative authority of the French government to give effect to their projects; and, that the reader may already understand the nature and complexion of the mischief that was meditated, and of those measures *to which the ruin of the French part of St. Domingo is immediately to be attributed*, it is necessary to recall his attention to the French national decree of the 20th of March, 1780," relative to the colonies, which contained, among other things, a direction "that *every person* of the age of twenty-five and upwards, possessing property, or having resided two years in the colony, and paid taxes, should be permitted to vote in the formation of the colonial assembly."

As mulattoes had never heretofore been permitted to vote at elections in St. Domingo, it was contended by the planters there, that this decree was not meant to extend to them. But this was not agreeable to the project of the *Amis des*

* See his letter of the 15th May, 1791, to the Mulattoes of St. Domingo: in *Edward's Hist. West Indies*, Vol. IV. pa. 99.

Noirs. To settle the doubt, they resorted to this influence in the national assembly.

"In the beginning of May, 1791, the consideration of this subject was brought forward by the Abbe Gregoire, and the claim of the free mulattoes to all the rights and privileges enjoyed by the white inhabitants, citizens of the French colonies, was supported by him with all that warmth and eloquence for which he was distinguished. Unfortunately, at this juncture, the news of the miserable death of Oge arrived at Paris, and raised a storm of indignation in the minds of all ranks of people, which the planters resident in France were unable to resist. Nothing was heard in all companies but declamation against their oppression and cruelty. To support and animate the popular outcry against them, a tragedy pantomime, formed on the story of Oge, was represented at the public theatres. By these, and other means, the planters were become so generally odious, that for a time they dared not appear in the streets of Paris. These were the means by which Grégoire, Condorcet, La Fayette, Brissot, and Robespierre disposed the public mind to clamour for a new and explanatory decree, in which the rights of the colonial people should be placed beyond all future doubts and dispute. The friends and advocates of the planters were overpowered and confounded. In vain did they predict the utter destruction of the colonies, if such a proposal should pass into a law. 'Perish the colonies,' said Robespierre, 'rather than sacrifice one iota of our principles.' The majority reiterated the sentiment, and the famous decree of the 15th May, 1791, was pronounced amidst the acclamation and applause of the multitude. By this decree it was declared and enacted, 'that the people of colour resident in the French colonies, born of free parents, were entitled to, as of right, and should be allowed the enjoyment of, all the privileges of French citizens, and among others, to those *having votes in the choice of representatives, and of being eligible to seats both in the parochial and colonial assemblies.*'"*

Thus did the national assembly sweep away in a moment all the laws, usages, prejudices, and opinions concerning these people, which had existed in the French colonies from their earliest settlement.

It ought to be borne in mind by our political zealots of the United States, that these furious advocates for liberty in

* "It has been confidently asserted," (says Mr. Edwards, in his *Hist. W. Indies*, Vol. IV. pa. 67,) "that La Fayette, in order to secure a majority on this question, introduced into the national assembly no less than eighty persons who were not members, but who sat and voted as such." Mr. Edwards's character and means of information were such as to leave little doubt of the truth of this assertion. But, where are the terms in our language to express the dishonour and infamy attached to such an action? The only palliation of it is to suppose, that some men frequently act dishonourably more from an innate stupidity than depravity of mind.

France, although they gloried in being the coadjutors of the British colonists in obtaining their independence and right of self-legislation, Fayette particularly; yet, when *their* colonists in St. Domingo came to claim the like "sole and exclusive right of passing laws for their local and interior regulation and government," as in the government of their slaves and people of colour—Oh! no, they say to their colonists; we are the national assembly; you must be governed by our laws. It is exactly as if the British parliament had, in the year 1774 or 1775, made a law, that all the free people of colour in these thirteen old colonies should not only be entitled to vote at elections, but to hold seats in our provincial assemblies. Would such a statute have been submitted to? No, surely. It would have been attended with far more unanimous and indignant rejection, than the act for an imposition of taxes.

It is proper now to call the attention of the reader to the *consequences* of all these ill-fated doings of the *Amis des Noirs* of France; hoping that it may operate as a solemn warning to our *Amis des Noirs*, to stay their hands from any further imitation of such mischievous proceedings. It seems extraordinary, that, although these French *Amis des Noirs* were neither blind or indifferent as to the *consequences* of their conduct, yet a respectable portion of the people of old France clearly foresaw them. Within a few days after the passage of this famous decree, an address was presented to the national assembly by the merchants of the city of Nantes, dated May 20th, 1791, which is so prophetic of the *consequences* thereof, that it ought not to be omitted.

"Gentlemen, your decree of the 15th of May, sublime in the eyes of philosophy, and dictated by the love of humanity, will not prevent (permit this freedom to our patriotism,) its being the most inhuman, if its execution was not impracticable in the colonies. More terrible than the hurricanes which ravage these rich countries, it would carry with it all the evils reunited. It goes forth to rekindle upon these shores, already the spectacles of horror, the fire-brand of discord and civil war. Rivers of blood are going to be shed. Under this burning hemisphere the passions are extreme: hatred and vengeance will display, in their true colours, their sanguinary effects. Ah! do not flatter yourselves, that these dreadful misfortunes are transient: no, gentlemen, as long as your fatal decree shall exist, *the whites and coloured people cannot live together—one party or the other must be exterminated*: there is no alternative; and the conquering party, enfeebled by its victory, will fall a sacrifice to the slaves, too crafty to let slip the favourable moment of breaking their chains.

Then will those horrible words be realized, which have made your walls resound—*may the colonies perish*. This barbarous wish is granted—they are no more.”

In order to effectuate their diabolical intentions of an *immediate* emancipation of all the slaves of St. Domingo, the *Amis des Noirs* of Paris had artfully commenced their labours with the *people of colour* of that colony;* “because” (as Mr. Edwards has expressed it,) “they found many of them in France, who became the willing instruments of their purposes; and who undertook to interpret to the negroes in the French colonies the wishes and good intentions towards them of their friends in the mother country. Thus an opening was made towards conciliation and union between the two classes. The *negroes*, believing that it was only through the agency of the *mulattoes*, and the connexions of those people in France, they could obtain a regular supply of arms and ammunition, forgot or suspended their ancient animosities; and the *men of colour*, sensible that nothing but the co-operation of the enslaved negroes could give success to their cause, courted them with such assiduity, as gained over at least nine-tenths of all the slaves in the northern province of St. Domingo.” To obviate any possible difference between these two classes, the Abbe Gregoire wrote his celebrated circular letter to the people of colour of St. Domingo, exhorting them to unanimity and friendship with the negroes. “It is true,” says he, “the national assembly has not yet raised the condition of the enslaved negroes to a level with your situation; because, suddenly granting the rights, to those who are ignorant of the duties of citizens, might perhaps have been a fatal present to them; but forget not, that they, like yourselves, *are born to freedom and perfect equality*.” The enslaved negroes, however, (ignorant as he supposed them,) were not unobservant of this favourable combination of concurring circumstances. Receiving assurances of the co-operation or connivance of the people of colour, a band of them in the northern part of the island secretly planned a sudden revolt.

“It was on the morning of the 23d of August, just before day,” (says the historian,) “that a general alarm and consternation

* It may be again remarked, that it is a very extraordinary mistake, especially in members of Congress, whom we might suppose to have been better informed, in supposing that the expression, *people of colour*, comprehends the negroes. Throughout the whole history of the misfortunes of St. Domingo, an obvious distinction is constantly made between the *people of colour* and the negroes or blacks. The *people of colour* are exclusively the *sangs-melees*, the *mulattoes*.

spread throughout the town of the Cape. The inhabitants were called from their beds, by persons who reported, that all the negro slaves in the several neighbouring parishes had revolted, and were, at that moment, carrying death and desolation over the adjoining large and beautiful plain to the north-east. The governor, and most of the military officers on duty, assembled together; but the reports were so confused and contradictory, as to give but little credit; when, as soon as day-light began to break, the sudden and successive arrival, with ghastly countenances, of persons who had with difficulty escaped the massacre, and flown to the town for protection, brought a dreadful confirmation of the fatal tidings.

“The rebellion first broke out on a plantation called Noe, in the parish of *Acul*, nine miles from the city. Twelve or fourteen of the ring-leaders, about the middle of the night, proceeded to the refining or sugar-house, and seized on a young man, the refiner's apprentice, dragged him to the front of the dwelling-house, and there hewed him into pieces with their cutlasses; his screams brought out the overseer, whom they instantly shot. The rebels now found their way to the apartment of the refiner, and massacred him in his bed. A young man, lying sick in a neighbouring chamber, was left apparently dead of the wounds inflicted by their cutlasses; he had strength enough, however, to crawl to the next plantation, and relate the horrors he had witnessed. He reported, that all the whites of the estate which he had left were murdered, except only the surgeon, whom the rebels had compelled to accompany them, on the idea that they might stand in need of his professional assistance. Alarmed by this intelligence, the persons to whom it was communicated, immediately sought their safety in flight. What became of the poor youth, I have never been informed.

“The revoltors, (consisting of all the slaves belonging to that plantation,) proceeded to the house of a Mr. Clement, by whose negroes also they were immediately joined, and both he and his refiner were massacred. The murderer of Mr. Clement was his own postilion, a man to whom he had always shown great kindness. The other white people on this estate contrived to make their escape.

“At this juncture, the negroes on the plantation of M. Flaville, a few miles distant, likewise rose and murdered five white persons, one of whom, (the *procureur* or attorney for the estate,) had a wife and three daughters. These unfortunate women, while imploring for mercy of the savages on their knees, beheld their husband and father murdered before their faces. For themselves, they were devoted to a more horrid fate, and were carried away captives by the assassins.

“The approach of day-light served only to discover sights of horror. It was now apparent that the negroes on all the estates

acted in concert, and a general massacre of the whites took place in every quarter. On some few estates, indeed, the lives of the women were spared, but they were reserved only to gratify the brutal appetites of the ruffians; and it is shocking to relate, that many of them suffered violation on the dead bodies of their husbands and fathers!

“The largest sugar plantation on the plain was that of Mons. Gallifet, situated about eight miles from the town, the negroes belonging to which, had always been treated with such kindness and liberality, and possessed so many advantages, that it became a proverbial expression, among the lower white people, in speaking of any man’s good fortune, to say *il est heureux comme un negre de Gallifet*, (he is as happy as one of Gallifet’s negroes.) M. Odelue, the attorney, or agent, for this plantation, was a member of the general assembly, and being fully persuaded that the negroes belonging to it would remain firm to their obedience, determined to repair thither to encourage them in opposing the insurgents; to which end he desired the assistance of a few soldiers from the town-guard, which was granted him. He proceeded accordingly; but in approaching the estate, to his surprise and grief, he found all the negroes in arms on the side of the rebels, and (horrid to tell!!) *their standard was the body of an infant, which they had recently impaled on a stake!* M. Odelue had advanced too far to retreat undiscovered, and both he and a friend that accompanied him, with most of the soldiers, were killed without mercy. Two or three only of the patrol escaped by flight; and conveyed the dreadful tidings to the inhabitants of the town.”

Let us remark here, that this strong instance of ingratitude, as it ought not to be an encouragement to any slaveholder, inclinable to the principles of the *Amis des Noirs*, to flatter himself, that by lenient and gentle usage of his slaves he will secure safety to himself in the day of massacre; so also on the other hand it ought not to operate as a discouragement to a good master in treating his slaves with all that kindness and humanity consistent with the preservation of subordination and obedience. It is an indispensable moral duty, incumbent on every slaveholder, to provide for his slaves an ample sufficiency of both *food* and *clothing*, the latter including the *bedding* upon which they are to take their nocturnal repose after the fatigues of their daily labour. These duties are not sufficiently attended to, in the State of Maryland. Too many slaveholders of every class of society in this State, finding that the profits of agriculture do not keep pace with the introduction of the refined luxuries of life, in the use of which they copy from their superiors, and those again from the wealthy merchants in the cities,

seek to increase their funds by curtailing necessities to their negroes. Would *Protection Societies*, as they are called, instead of combining to obstruct the transportation of these coloured people, or negroes, out of the State, and thereby preventing a public good, whether they be entitled by the laws to freedom or not,—would these Societies bend their attention to the execution of such laws as already exist on the subject, and in procuring the enactment of others more cogent and effective, for the same purpose, so as to compel masters to supply their slaves with an ample sufficiency of food and clothing, then indeed they would be entitled to the humane appellation they have assumed; then would the slaves be rendered more content with their situation, and less disposed to insurrection, when opportunity should allure them to it.

But let us listen to a few more of the horrors of the solemn lesson, which the historian of St. Domingo repeats to us:—

“By this time, all or most of the white persons, that had been found on the several plantations, being massacred, or forced to seek their safety in flight, the ruffians exchanged the sword for the torch. The buildings and cane-fields were every where set on fire, and the conflagrations which were visible from the town, in a thousand different quarters, furnished a prospect more shocking, and reflections more dismal, than fancy can paint, or the powers of man describe.

“Consternation and terror now took possession of every mind: and the screams of the women and children, running from door to door, heightened the horror of the scene. All the citizens took up arms, and the General Assembly vested the Governor with the command of the National Guards, requesting him to give such orders as the urgency of the case seemed to demand.

“To such of the distant parishes as were open to communication, either by land or by sea, notice of the revolt had been transmitted within a few hours after advice of it was received at the Cape; and the white inhabitants of many of those parishes had therefore found time to establish camps, and form a chain of posts, which for a short time seemed to prevent the rebellion spreading beyond the Northern Province. Two of those camps, however, one at *Grande Rivierre*, the other at *Dondon*, were attacked by the negroes, (who were here openly joined by the mulattoes,) and forced with great slaughter. At *Dondon* the whites maintained the contest for seven hours: but were overpowered by the infinite disparity of numbers, and compelled to give way, with the loss of upwards of one hundred of their body. The survivors took refuge in the Spanish territory.

"These two Districts, therefore, and the whole of the rich and extensive plain of the Cape, together with the contiguous mountains, were now wholly abandoned to the ravages of the enemy; and the cruelties which they exercised, uncontrolled, on such of the miserable whites as fell into their hands, cannot be remembered without horror, nor reported in terms strong enough to convey a proper idea of their atrocity,

"They seized Mr. Blen, an officer of the police, and having nailed him alive to one of the gates of his plantation, chopped off his limbs, one by one, with an axe.

"A poor man named Robert, a carpenter by trade, endeavouring to conceal himself from the notice of the rebels, was discovered in his hiding-place; and the savages declared that he should die *in the way of his occupation*; accordingly they bound him between two boards, and deliberately sawed him asunder.

"M. Cardineau, a planter of Grande Rivierre, had two natural sons by a black woman. He had manumitted them in their infancy, and bred them up with great tenderness. They both joined in the revolt; and when their father endeavoured to divert them from their purpose, by soothing language and pecuniary offers, they took his money, and then stabbed him to the heart.

"All the white, and even the mulatto children whose fathers had not joined in the revolt, were murdered without exception, frequently before the eyes or clinging to the bosoms of their mothers. Young women of all ranks were first violated by a whole troop of barbarians, and then generally put to death. Some of them were indeed reserved for the further gratification of the lust of the savages, and others had their eyes scooped out with a knife.

"In the Parish of Limbe, at a place called the Great Ravine, a venerable planter, the father of two beautiful young ladies, was tied down by a savage ring-leader of a band, who ravished the eldest daughter in his presence, and delivered over the youngest to one of his followers: their passion being satisfied, they slaughtered both the father and the daughters.

"To detail the various conflicts, skirmishes, massacres, and scenes of slaughter, which this exterminating war produced, were to offer a disgusting and frightful picture; a combination of horrors, wherein we should behold cruelties unexampled in the annals of mankind; human blood poured forth in torrents; the earth blackened with ashes, and the air tainted with pestilence. It was computed, that within two months after the revolt first began, upwards of two thousand white persons, of all conditions and ages, had been massacred;—that one hundred and eighty sugar plantations, and about nine hundred coffee, cotton, and indigo settlements, had been destroyed, (the buildings thereon being consumed by fire,) and one thousand two hundred christian families reduced from opulence to such a state of misery as to depend alto-

gether for their clothing and sustenance on public and private charity."

Should it now be asked by one of our *Amis des Noirs* of Maryland—For what purpose have you thus exhibited to us this detail of the horrors of St. Domingo? No man would regret and shudder at these horrors, more than I should. Cannot the emancipation of the blacks be effected without these dreadful consequences? No, sir: is my reply. You yourself acknowledge, that you neither wish nor expect an amalgamation or intermixture of the races—the whites and the blacks: that the greatest personal misfortune, which could befall you, would be to see your son or daughter married to a negro. But whence do you derive this irrational and unfounded reluctance to such an union, if, as your great prototype, the christian Gregoire, has observed, "it is mere prejudice to think, that the colour of a man's skin is to keep the children of the same parent at an immense distance from each other?" If you cannot conquer this silly "prejudice," then, sir, you must accede to some plan or policy to avoid such a consequence. If you persist in your principles of emancipation of these blacks, and at the same time in your aversion to an intermixture or amalgamation with them, you reduce yourself to this dilemma---either you must exterminate their whole race, or you must transport them out of the country. Which alternative, I pray you, is the most consistent with humanity? But the preceding extracts, relative to St. Domingo, amply demonstrate, that the supposition of an intermixture or amalgamation of the two races, which must necessarily require ages to accomplish, is a mere dream. Long before this could be effected, an extermination of one or the other race, must necessarily happen. It clearly follows then, that a gradual transportation of the blacks and coloured people out of the country, is the preferable alternative, which policy dictates to these States, in order to avoid the dreadful misfortunes of St. Domingo.

These extracts are intended also to form a lesson to our *Amis des Noirs*. Are they not pursuing the same course, and treading directly in the steps of that famous society of Paris? Do they not contend, that "all men are born, and continue, equal in their rights?" that both the negroes and people of colour, (the mulattoes,) are entitled to their freedom; that it is not lawful for a christian to hold them in bondage; and that it is the bounden duty of every man immediately to emancipate his slaves, let the consequences be what they may. What is this but Robespierre's sentiment---

“perish the colonies, rather than sacrifice one iota of our principles?”—*Perish the southern States, rather than sacrifice one iota of our principles*, reiterate our *Amis des Noirs*. But they pretend to add, that, when they are advocates for the manumission of slaves, they do not contend for their assumption of any *political* rights. What contemptible, ridiculous evasion! The national assembly professed to confer the right of election only on the people of colour, the free mulattoes, and not on the negro-slaves. But, when the dam was broke, who was to stay the torrent? Indeed, when full emancipation is granted to all negroes as well as coloured people, where is argument or reason to be found in denying to them these rights of election and representation? *Slavery* seems to be an indefinite term—

“Like Wit, much talk’d of, not to be defined.”

When the British parliament were about to tax us without being represented therein, it was said, that they meant to make us *slaves*. Will not the negroes, when advanced to the enjoyment of their *civil* rights, say, that they are still *slaves*, unless they have a share in making the laws which are to bind them? There would be no end to the full meaning of the word *liberty*, until it was synonymous with perfect *equality*. Our *Amis des Noirs* are, therefore, solicited to pause in their career of a fanciful emancipation of the whole human race. As most of them exhibit themselves in the shape of religious zealots, they generally insist upon their duty to God’s commands, as paramount to all human considerations. But, what horrible sacrifices and extravagancies have not been attempted to be justified under this principle? In the time of the reformation, a fanatic reformer cut off his brother’s hand, and told his father and mother, that God commanded him to do so. When the extravagancies of religion threaten the peace and safety of the community, they they are to be curbed, like other vices; and it is in vain for a man to allege his religious principles in justification of any wild system of belief, which he chooses to set up. Men, who propagate new doctrines, even of religion, ought to be answerable to the laws for the *consequences* of those doctrines, where they evidently lead to a disorganization of society. When the priests of Europe, a century or two ago, maintained the rightfulness and lawfulness of taking away the life of an *excommunicated* monarch by any practicable means, were they not, in the estimation of every good and conscientious man, viewed as equally criminal as the assassin

who personally did the act? Would not the priest Gregoire, if asked at this day, (for he is said to be still alive,) why he instigated the mulattoes of St. Domingo to commit the murders they did, deny, as our *Amis des Noirs* would, that he encouraged them to do any such thing? Yet, who can read the history of that ill-fated country, and doubt of his being the principal instigator of those horrible doings? It is one of the great attributes of impartial history, that at one day or other she is sure to drag such *hypocrites* or *maniacs* from their dark hiding-places. Let our *Amis des Noirs* take their choice of these epithets. If ever the misfortunes of St. Domingo befall these southern States, (and it is too probable that they will,) the muse of history will assuredly paint them in their true colours.

SECTION III.

As to the Expediency or Practicability of the Measure.

Much time and trouble has been saved to the author of this tract, by the report of the committee of the House of Representatives of Congress, to whom was referred the Memorial of this "Society for the Colonization of the Free People of Colour," &c. The general proposition suggested by the committee in that report, of incorporating the people of colour to be transported from these States, (among whom, as we understand, negroes are meant to be included,) with the British colony of *Sierra Leone*, seems to be the only practicable plan or scheme, which, under all circumstances, could be adopted. The report very properly rejects the proposition of colonizing them within the limits of the United States. The reasons against this proposal are so forcibly stated in that report, (which has become public,) and indeed are so obvious to every reflecting mind, that they need not be stated, that "Africa is the country, which, in the order of providence, seems to have been appropriated to that distinct family of mankind, and presents the fittest asylum for them," the committee have propounded two important propositions, the alternative of which must be selected.

"Will it be expedient to attempt the establishment of a new colony in Africa?"

"Or, to make to Great Britain a proposal to receive the emigrants from the United States into her colony of *Sierra Leone*?"

The committee have most judiciously recommended the adoption of the latter of those two propositions. Against the former, they have stated a few forcible reasons. "The two distinct and independent colonies," they say, "established and protected by two independent powers, would naturally imbibe the spirit and distinctions of their patrons and protectors, and put in jeopardy the peace and prosperity of both. Even the simple fact of separate independence would eventually tend to produce collisions and wars between the two establishments, (unless, indeed, they were far removed from each other,) and perhaps defeat the further humane and exalted views of those who projected them." To which might be added many other equally powerful arguments against the attempt to establish a distinct independent colo-

ny, under the patronage and protection of these States. In the first place, it would be difficult to select any part of the western coast of Africa, as a site for a colony, which is not already either seated or claimed by some European power; or where, perhaps, a peaceable settlement could be made safe from the annoyance of the native negroes. It ought to be remembered, that "the people of colour," though negroes or mulattoes, who are to be colonized, are civilized people, and will not easily amalgamate with the natives, or rather the natives with them. Considerable expense, as well as military force, would be necessary for many years to protect this distinct colony. As to a *place* on the coast of Africa, where a colony, distinct from that of Sierra Leone, might be seated, some suggestions have been lately made by the celebrated Paul Cuffee, who is either a free negro or a free person of colour in New-England, of some property and some education, (in comparison with most others of his race,) who has made several voyages to Sierra Leone, and who appears to have been consulted on the present occasion. In his letter, dated January 8th, 1817, he mentions "the island *Berso*, which lies at the mouth of the river Gambia, three hundred and fifty miles northwest of Sierra Leone." This place, he observes, "is said to be very fertile, but unhealthy to northern constitutions." From the best account, though not a very modern one, that has ever been published, of the river Gambia,* it would appear, that Paul Cuffee must have here meant an island on the north side of the Gambia, at the mouth thereof, called Bird or Broken island, more properly called Broken Islands; for, in reality, it consists of six or more islands forming the mouth of a river called Barsally, which empties into the Gambia near its mouth. The largest of these islands is about twelve miles long, and four miles broad. Some of these islands belong to the king of Barsally, and some of them to the king of Barra, both of which are contiguous kingdoms of the Mundingoe race of negroes. These islands were, at the time our author resided there, thickly inhabited, with several towns thereon. In order to plant a colony there, it would be necessary to either expel or subdue the inhabitants; in which case the islands might be well secured against the negroes on the main, until the colony might be enlarged. As to the objection he makes of its being "unhealthy to northern constitutions," that must

* Moore's "Travels into the inland parts of Africa." He was one of the factors of the English African company, from 1730 to 1735.

be considered as imaginary merely, at least as to negroes, who seem by nature fitted for hot climates. The mouth of the Gambia is in 13 deg. 20 min. north latitude, nearly on a parallel with the island Barbadoes, in the West-Indies. *Moore* observes, "four months in the year are unhealthy, and very tedious to those who are come out of a colder climate; but the perpetual spring, where you commonly see ripe fruit and blossoms on the same tree, makes some amends for that inconvenience. The air is very pleasant and refreshing." These were inconveniencies experienced by English constitutions; but, let it be remembered, that English constitutions made the same complaints against Maryland and Virginia, on their first settlement therein. The mouth of the Gambia is also about four or six degrees more to the northwest than Sierra Leone, where the colony, already planted there, seems to have experienced little inconvenience from climate. Another site for a colony, mentioned by Paul Cuffee, is "the river Sherborough, in about fifty leagues southeast of Sierra Leone. I have heard," says he, "said river much recommended by John Carezell, a citizen of Sierra Leone." In an authentic work, published about the year 1760,* there is the following description of the river Sherborough.

"At the mouth of the river stands an island, by the English called *Tcherbro*, by the French *Cerbera*; stretching southeast and northwest along the coast, and forming a large bay between it and the continent.† On the west point of Scherbro are three small islands, in a direct line with it, to which the English have given the name of the *Plantain* islands, from the quantity of that fruit they produce. As to the island Scherbro, it extends ten miles southeast, producing great abundance of rice, maize, yams, bananas, potatoes, Indian figs, ananas, citrons, oranges, watermelons, the nut called *kola*, with a variety of other fruits and roots. Fine pearls are found in an oyster, bred on the shore; but the fishing for them is dangerous, on account of the numbers of crocodiles, alligators, and sharks, that infest all the mouth of the river."

This favourable description of Sherborough seems to correspond with what Paul Cuffee learnt of it at Sierra Leone. Were it desirable to undertake the settlement of a distinct colony, independent of that of Sierra Leone, and under the

* *The Mod. Univ. Hist.* Vol. XVII. pa. 229.

† In *Bowen's* map of Negro-land, or the middle parts of Africa, this island is laid down, as commencing its southeast extremity opposite to the south cape of the river, and stretching northwest across the mouth of the river, thereby "forming the large bay," abovementioned, with the continent on the north side of the river.

protection and patronage of the United States, these two situations are at the Gambia and the Sherborough, as he has very properly observed, "would do for small beginnings." A large island, or an extensive peninsula, would seem to be the most eligible sites for commencing a colony, on account of their convenience for defence against the attacks of the natives.* Like the peninsulas of Jamestown, in Virginia, and Manhattoes, in New-York; they might each form the germs of a colony, which might in time extend itself into a large and populous state.

Cuffee has mentioned also, though with no particular commendation, "the river Congo, which lies near the equator; the population is said to be great, and the soil fertile." If, by "the river Congo," he means the *Zaire*, the largest river in the kingdom of Congo, and which is said also to be one of the largest in Africa, there are numerous objections to any attempt to fix a colony either on that river or any where within the kingdom of Congo, which formerly included, and still does by name, not only Congo Proper, but the adjacent kingdoms of Angola and Loango. Of the former of the two last mentioned, to wit, Angola, the Portuguese have not only become complete sovereigns, but in some measure have colonized with their countrymen, a very extensive tract of country therein; having for their capital the city of *San Paulo de Loanda*, pleasantly situated on the declivity of a hill near the sea-coast, and opposite to an island called Loanda, which is about fifteen miles in length and three in breadth, and which island forms a commodious haven for their ships. This city was founded by the Portuguese as far back as the year 1578, and was reported to

* It may be proper to state here, that about the time of the first settling the present colony of Sierra Leone, (1791,) an attempt was made by the English to settle another colony of *blacks* on an island called *Bulam*, situated at the mouth of the Gambia, and which must have been one of the *broken* islands beforementioned. It seems, that the natives of the shore opposite to this island had from time immemorial made their annual rice plantations thereon. They therefore considered the arrival and possession of the new settlers as an unjust intrusion upon their natural rights. A dispute arose about it, which eventuated in the massacre of the principal part of the new colonists by the natives. The governor, (Dalrymple,) with the few remaining of the colonists, escaped to the settlement at Sierra Leone; since which, it does not appear, that a second attempt has been made by the English to fix a colony at Gambia. It may be added also, that not long after the first settlement at Sierra Leone, the colony there was more than once furiously attacked and invaded by the neighbouring natives; but the colony was so fortunate as to repel them; and from the latest accounts, it seems to remain upon a friendly footing with them, frequently hiring and employing the natives as labourers and agriculturists.

have, even at the latter end of the seventeenth century, "three thousand houses belonging to the Portuguese, all built of stone and mortar, and covered with tiles, and most of them very sumptuously and richly furnished. The streets are straight, wide, and regular; the convents and their chapels neat and decent, and suitable to their different orders." It may be proper to add, that not only the greater part of Angola, a country of not less than three hundred square miles, is in the actual possession of the Portuguese, but that the kingdoms of Congo Proper and Loango are tributary to them. It is, therefore, to be strongly inferred, that the Portuguese would not suffer any colony of blacks to be settled within any of the countries of that coast, which are in subjection to them; especially as they have long since enforced the Christian religion, in the Catholic form, upon all the natives within their influence, with whom our *Methodist* negroes would but illy assort.

Additional reasons present themselves against any attempt to settle a colony on the Congo river. Very late intelligence, respecting that river, has demonstrated, that it would be totally unfit for our proposed purpose. Two expeditions were fitted out from England during the last year, (1816,) at great expense, and with very sanguine expectations, to explore the interior of Africa, with a particular view of settling the question relative to the Niger. An idea having prevailed, (with which the unfortunate Mungo Park, with others, was strongly impressed,) that the Niger, modernly called, according to him, the Joliba, and the great internal African sea, disembogue themselves by the Congo into the southern ocean, it was determined, that one expedition should proceed to the mouth of the Congo, and ascend that river, while the other, by following nearly in Park's track, by the river Gambia, should reach the Niger, and by descending that mysterious stream, hope to meet their brethren coming up the Congo, in the heart of Africa. "The expedition up the Congo, under the command of Captain Tuckey, who was accompanied by several gentlemen of science, qualified to make every useful observation, arrived in two ships at the mouth of the Congo, on the third of July, 1816. They here embarked on board a sloop so constructed as to draw little water, in which they ascended the river about 120 miles. They here found the current so rapid, and the bottom so rocky, that they could proceed no further

by water.* They then landed, and proceeded 220 miles along the bank of the river, in which distance they passed four cataracts, when sickness and the want of supplies compelled them to retrace their steps. They all succeeded in regaining their ships on the 2d of October, but in such an exhausted state, that of the fifty-six persons who landed, eighteen, including the captain, lieutenant, and all the scientific part of the expedition, died in a short time after they returned on board. Capt. Tuckey's Journal was continued to the day of his death, and it is already advertised as being in the press for publication in London, with the Notes of the gentlemen who accompanied him. It is said, not to hold out the least encouragement for prosecuting the research further. Beyond that of determining the geographical problem of the course of the Niger, it does not promise a single advantage. If the Congo be a continuation of that river, *it cannot be useful for the purpose of navigation, on account of its numerous rapids and cataracts. The country is so miserable that it cannot engage the attention of the merchant.* It is thinly peopled, and the inhabitants are of the lowest description of human beings—cowardly, cruel, and indolent. A very small quantity of grain is produced, and that by the labour of the women. The soil is hard and sterile.”† This seems to be enough to place the Congo out of the present question.

We will conclude our remarks on the different sites for a colony, as proposed by Paul Cuffee, with that which he seems, most strongly, but most extraordinarily, to recommend. “But were there,” says he, “a willingness for a general removal of the people of colour, and the *Cape of Good Hope* could be obtained, I think it looks most favourable.” He surely must have known, that a very populous and extensive colony of *white* people—the *Dutch*, (now in subjection to the British government,) are in the actual possession of what may be properly termed, the *Cape of Good Hope*. The British nation have found it so convenient a *half-way house*, if it may be so called, to their immense East-India possessions, that they will not, in all probability, be induced to relinquish any part of it, especially to a colony of negroes, whose neighbourhood would be, without doubt,

* This corresponds with former geographical accounts of the Congo. No wind is strong enough, even at its mouth, to force a ship against the rapidity of its current. It is navigated by small craft, along its shores, by means of the eddies of the river. *Mod. Univ. Hist.* vol. xvi. p. 36.

† The North American Review, for May, 1817.

as offensive to their Dutch colonists, as they would be to our republican American citizens. From the latest accounts also of the Dutch colonists at the Cape, they have extended themselves so far into the interior countries, and pressed upon the Hottentots so much, as to render those natives, who border on the Dutch frontiers, extremely uneasy and restive ; much in the same manner, as we Americans are gradually shoving the Indians in a retrograde migration from their ancient settlements. It is not probable, therefore, that "were there a *willingness* for a general removal of the people of colour," they would be permitted by either the British, Dutch, or Hottentots, to settle a colony any where in their neighbourhood.

But to probe this question more immediately to the bottom, the remark ought to be borne in mind, however harsh it may feel to our national vanity, that these United States are not yet arrived at that acme of power and greatness, when it would befit us, to be establishing distant colonies, to be maintained, supported, and protected by the strong arm of our sovereignty. Should the reader of this be ever so high toned a republican, with a mind filled to the brim with ideas of the glory and greatness of these United States, like a Maryland or Virginia grog-drinker at a country election, who struts and boasts that he can whip any man in the world, he is solicited for a moment to be calm and quiet, while the remark is made,—that notwithstanding we have declared ourselves *independent* as to our government, and are really and truly so, and it would be impossible for either of the two most powerful nations of Europe, even our old mother Britain, to conquer and subdue us, yet the people of these United States, are as yet, in truth and reality, nothing more themselves—than colonists—nothing more : strong, indeed, to resist an invasion of their fire-sides, but, in every other respect, weak and feeble. Notwithstanding the most oppressive taxation of the *agricultural* part of our population, in order to bolster up some two or three miserable attempts at *manufactures*, we are not only totally incapable of furnishing the necessary articles of clothing and implements of agriculture to a colony, but in case of a war are unable to supply ourselves with such necessaries. A colony planted under such patronage must perish. Besides, we are most certainly incapable of affording defence to any distant colony whatever, especially to one planted on the other side of the Atlantic. It ought to be remembered, that this defence can be afforded only through the instrumentality of a navy.

But, should a war occur between us and Great-Britain, how could any means of defence be sent to a colony on the coast of Africa? I know that much gasconade would be replied, as usual, to such a question;—as how, that ship to ship, we can whip any people in the world. This species of cheering to our tars may be useful to them in time of war, but with statesmen, in sober legislation, ought to find no consideration. It has been properly observed by some one in Congress, that, as Great-Britain in case of a war, could never spare more than ten or a dozen ships of the line to be kept on our coast, our States are competent to support a navy adequate to combat with so small a detachment of their naval force; and that, therefore, we may safely endeavour to maintain a navy to that amount for our own defence on our own coast. But this proves nothing as to our competency to keep a navy on the coast of Africa adequate to the defence of a colony there. Such colony would, therefore, necessarily fall into the possession or destruction of Great-Britain; just as their humanity or policy might dictate. Would it not then be better at once to incorporate these intended negro colonists, who are to be removed from our own shores, with those of the same species of people, who are already colonized in Africa, under the government and protection of the British nation, who are both willing and capable to defend them?

Some apprehension, however, may be entertained, lest a suggestion made by the Committee of the House of Representatives, in their Report on this subject, at the last session, might be insisted upon, in our negotiation with England, as a *sine qua non* in an agreement to incorporate our colonists with theirs, at Sierra Leone; that is, that these United States should enjoy a perpetual and unlimited “freedom of commerce” with this their colony at Sierra Leone. Should this be insisted upon by us, it will infallibly destroy every probable hope of accommodation with them on the subject. Nor is it reasonable to require of them such a stipulation. As they have been *at all the expense* of planting, rearing, and protecting the colony, so ought they to reap and enjoy all the profits and benefits to be derived from it. This is the grand *colonial* principle, to which all these English colonies, now states of America, owe their existence. It has been doubted, upon strong grounds of authenticity, whether the people of England were ever reimbursed in the enormous sums of money, which the planting, rearing, and protecting these colonies cost them: and that our independence

was declared before this debt of natural justice was paid. Be that as it may, an exclusive colonial commerce, however it may wear the appearance of niggardly monopoly, is just and proper; as much so as that the man, who at this day, sits down and clears a plantation in the State of Indiana, should be exclusively entitled to the profits arising from it. It is to be hoped, therefore, that our negotiators will not be instructed to insist upon such an article of stipulation. It is probable, that the government of Great-Britain will voluntarily permit such *imports* into the colony, as will comport with their and the colony's interests; and that those interests will coincide with ours; particularly in the allowance of the importation of all bread-stuffs.

We beg leave here, however, to contend, that should our government, through mismanagement, or neglect, or otherwise, be so unfortunate as to fail in a negotiation with Great Britain in procuring the liberty of landing and incorporating our negro colonists with theirs of Sierra Leone, yet, as the danger, which threatens the peace and happiness, perhaps the existence, of these Southern States, is imminent and extreme, our *dernier* resort must be in an attempt, of ourselves, to plant a colony of them some where on the shores of Africa. Some of the places, herein before suggested, might perhaps upon inquiry be found, in such case of necessity, sufficiently to answer the purpose. Mr. Jefferson, in a letter on this subject to a private friend, which has been lately published, bearing date "Jan. 21, 1811," has disclosed several important facts not before generally known. He states, that he "received, in the first year of his entering into the administration of the General Government, a letter from the Governor of Virginia, consulting him, (Mr. Jefferson,) at the request of the Legislature of the State, on the means of procuring some such asylum, to which these people might be *occasionally* sent. I proposed to him," (says he.) "the establishment at Sierra Leone, in which a private company in England had already colonized a number of negroes, and particularly the fugitives from these States, during the revolutionary war." We must here stop to remark, that, when Paul Cuffee, during our last war with England, applied to Congress for legislative authority to carry with him to Sierra Leone some negro emigrants, who voluntarily desired to transport themselves to that colony, the application was rejected by Congress upon the principle, as expressed in the House by one of the members,—“because it was a British establishment.” To do

away and silence at once all such illiberal prejudices, we beg leave here to refer those, who entertain such opinions, to that which Mr. Jefferson has just before expressed. This well-informed statesman had too great an understanding to permit, in a case of such vital importance to his native State, any secret animosity to the English nation, to operate as an impediment to so patriotic a purpose. He here, also, manifestly prefers an incorporation of our black colonists with those of Sierra Leone, as the best expedient to relieve us from our dangers and difficulties. But he further proceeds: "And at the same time I suggested, if that could not be obtained," (that is, if permission to incorporate our blacks with those of Sierra Leone, could not be obtained,) "some of the Portuguese possessions in South America as most desirable. The subsequent legislature," (that is, of the State of Virginia, as we may infer from what precedes,) "approving these ideas, I wrote the ensuing year (1802) to Mr. King, our Minister in London, to endeavour to negotiate with the Sierra Leone company, and induce them to receive such of those people as might be colonized thither. He opened a correspondence with Mr. Wilberforce, and Mr. Thornton, Secretary of the Company, on the subject; and in 1803, I received through Mr. King the result.* The effort, which I made with Portugal to obtain an establishment for them within their colonies, proved also abortive." Mr. Jefferson has not stated the inducements he had to make his application to Portugal on this subject. He had at the time, without doubt, some justifiable reasons for such an application. The causes, which have been herein before suggested, such as would most probably induce the Portuguese to refuse the admission of negro colonists into their possessions on the coast of Africa, would in some measure operate also against admitting them into their colonies in Brazil. They have not, as it appears, readily assented as yet, to the British propositions of abolishing the slave-trade; and their large possessions in Angola have hitherto furnished them with an abundance of negro slaves for their colonies in Brazil. They would not, therefore, probably ever assent

* To this passage the following note is subjoined in the original publication of this letter in the *National Intelligencer*, of April 15, 1817: "NOTE, by the communicator—which was unfavourable, owing to circumstances which do not exist at the present time." What those "circumstances" were, is not stated by the editor, or in the letter. It may, therefore, be hoped, that as they do not now exist, a second application may be more successful; especially, if not clogged with unnecessary demands, such as a right of "free commerce" to the colony,

to have a free colony of blacks transplanted into their American territories.

But, after all that has been said on the choice of a *place*, to which we may send these colonists, the most formidable difficulty perhaps still remains to be surmounted. "They will never *consent* to leave this country;" as was remarked, with too much probable truth, at the time of the formation of this Society at Washington.* What then? Are we to hazard the future happiness, nay existence, of all our Southern States, through a squeamishness in depriving those negroes and people of colour, who have been already manumitted, of their *civil* right of residence among us, when we keep the greater part of their species still in slavery, and the whole of them without the enjoyment of any *political* right whatever? Much will be said, without doubt, by our obstinate *Amis des Noirs*, on the cruelty of transporting, by force, any individual human being from his native soil and from his dearest relatives. To silence the clamours of these pretended philanthropists, it has been very properly *declared* at the formation of this Society, that no intention of transporting any person of colour *by force* has been contemplated. I shall beg leave, however, as an *individual*, (being totally unconnected with and unknown to the Society,) to express my opinion and avow myself an advocate, for using force in some cases, where neither justice would be violated nor humanity wounded. Our state-prisons, or penitentiaries, are filled to overflowing with criminals of different kinds; a considerable portion of whom is said to consist of negroes and people of colour. In the Southern States, some evil is supposed to result from this intermixture. The white man, thus consigned to the same punishment in the same apartment with the negro, ceases to cherish in future any regard to character. When they are dismissed at the expiration of this confinement, desperate in respect of character, the moral influence of the opinion of the world, the strongest of all human inducements, has lost its effect, and they re-enter immediately on their former courses of life. A separation of these criminals of different colour, it is supposed, would produce a beneficial effect. No mode of separation presents itself as being so effectual as the transportation of *black convicts* to some other country, instead of confinement in a penitentiary. The most populous and polished nations of Europe have, in a variety of instances, adopted this usage;

* See Note IV. in the Appendix.

particularly the *English* nation, with whom *civil* liberty has been always held in higher estimation than it is possible for it to be done in these United States, where the greater portion of the inhabitants are daily familiarized with domestic slavery. Might it not then be proposed to the Legislatures of the several States, or to that of the General Government where necessary, to make laws and provisions for carrying into effect *a system of punishment by banishment or transportation*, in all cases of offences committed by negroes or people of colour, where such punishment would be proportionate to the crime? In England, whose laws are for the most part our own, this has been extended to all *felonies* whatever, whether within or without clergy. To felonies within clergy, that is, not capital, by authorizing the court, by statute, to commute by order of court the punishment of burning in the hand or whipping, into transportation to some of his majesty's *plantations* in America, but since the *independence* of these *plantations*, to "the eastern coast of New South Wales." To felonies without clergy, that is, according to the theory of the law of England, capital offences, for which the punishment of death might have been inflicted, by inserting in the charter of pardon a condition of transportation, as in cases of the felonies within clergy beforementioned. The theory is both just and humane. *Just*, because the offender, who commits crimes, which, by the laws of his society, are deserving of solitary confinement and labour for a great portion of his life, has rendered himself unfit to be a member of that society any longer; and it is, therefore, *humane*, instead of such confinement and labour, to restore him at once to liberty, in a country remote from that which he has so greatly injured and offended.

But we shall be told, perhaps, by one of the *Amis des Noirs*, who talk much, but seem to know little of the nature of true liberty under wholesome laws, that it is not consistent with the genius of our *republic*, that a *freeman* of any kind, even a free *black* man, should be exiled and banished from this glorious beloved country. But, for the information of such zealots, be it known to them, that this punishment of exile has been heretofore deemed peculiarly appropriate to *republican* governments. The disgrace and misfortune of being banished from the blessings of such a government, has been supposed to operate *in terrorem* from the prevention of crimes in such a manner as to have caused it to be adopted by some of the most celebrated *republics* that ever existed in the world. The well-known punishment of *Ostracism*, prac-

tised by one of the most civilized and polished of the ancient republics, that of Athens, is too familiar to every smatterer in Grecian history to need explanation. In the best times of the Roman republic, also, when Tully spoke and wrote, they allowed of exile; that is, by the interdiction of fire and water, the condemned person was obliged to leave his country. To which may be added also, as an example of greater authority, perhaps, with our statesmen, that the late glorious French republic, when their executioners complained of being tired with cutting off the hands of their citizens, changed the law into *deportation* to America. It cannot, therefore, be a solid objection against our proposed transportation of negro convicts, that our *republican* principles oppose such an attempt to deprive our free black citizens of their civil right of residence among us; nor does the clause in our Maryland *declaration of rights*, which declares, "that no free man ought to be exiled, but by the judgment of his peers or by the law of the land," affect the cause; for, it is not proposed to send them away without trial or conviction, and a special "law of the land" to be made for that purpose. It may not, perhaps, be unnecessary to add also, that this clause, just quoted, is but a literal copy from the English Bill of Rights, transferred into our State constitution by the framers of it; and it never was supposed by the best English expositors of their laws, that the statutes of transportation of convicts in any manner contravened the above clause in their bill of rights.

I would go still further towards a *compulsory* gradual removal of this negro or coloured race of people from our country. I see no impropriety in permitting every owner of a slave, who may be provoked to it by the refractory disobedience of such slave, or by the dissatisfaction with his dishonest character, to send such slave, together with, and in the same manner, as the convicts beforementioned shall be sent to the colony of Sierra Leone, or to such colony as shall be planted by the United States for the preceding purposes. It is now lawful, and very properly so, for the owners of slaves in Maryland, and I believe in Virginia, to transport their slaves to some of the other States, when such slaves prove refractory or have committed some enormous crime, which renders their stay incompatible with the safety of their owner. In the progress of refinement of manners among us, it has become too grating and harrowing to the feelings of a humane man, for him to debase his mind so much as to be himself his own executioner of the corporeal pun-

ishment of his slaves, or even to stand by while it is executed under his direction, to that degree which subordination and necessary discipline require; nor does severity of punishment seem to answer the purpose of correction; for, when it is inflicted even to a moderate degree, the incensed slave takes the first opportunity of becoming a fugitive to one of the "free States," as they call them, and the owner loses his property. Transportation from one State to another is still, therefore, very properly allowed; and, if so allowed, there can be little difference in permitting such owner, in such cases, to transport such refractory slave either to Sierra Leone, or to such colony as our United States shall plant. The slave would be benefited by being immediately entitled to his freedom in another part of the world, instead of being sold to slavery into another State; and the cruelty of separating him from his relations would not be greater in the one case than in the other.

It may, perhaps, be expected, that some further remarks should be here added, on the practical mode of *conveying* these people to Sierra Leone, or the destined site of their colony. This part of the subject, in its details, must be left to the wisdom of our statesmen and legislators. That it is practicable, no man will doubt; since it has been carried into effect by other nations, whose example we might copy. In the cases of *compulsory* emigration, the business would seem to belong in an appropriate manner to the legislatures of the several and individual States whom it concerned; for we may suppose, that the New-England States, not being immediately interested, would be unwilling to make it a general and national *expense*. It is therefore supposed, that the States of Virginia and Maryland, and such others as choose so to do, might each, at their own expense, cause a ship to be fitted out annually, or whenever occasion demanded, for the transportation of all such negroes or coloured people as should be convicted of crimes, or compelled by their owners to emigrate. As to criminals, this would operate in the nature of a gaol-delivery. Instead of blending them with *whites* in penitentiaries, they would be at once liberated, and placed, as we might suppose, in a more eligible situation; where they might become useful to themselves and to their new adopted country; and never more, either of themselves or their posterity, to be a curse to the land which they had left.

Although we have just admitted, that the necessary *expense*, to be hereby incurred, would properly belong to the

legislature of each individual State, to be provided for; yet, it must be contended, that wherever the aid of the general government, or legislature of the United States, is requisite, either in diplomacy or legislation, to carry into effect such salutary regulations, it cannot either justly or conditionally, be withheld. It is one of the expressly enumerated duties of Congress, "to provide for the *general welfare* of the United States." It would not be reasonable, nor has it been the usage, to confine this provision for the general welfare to those cases only wherein every State in the Union had *obviously* an interest. Small, indeed, would be the business of each session of the national legislature were it literally confined to this sense of the words, "general welfare;" for, scarcely a subject could be proposed, on which the national legislature was to act, in which it might not be said, that some one or two of the States had no manifest interest. But can it, with any kind of truth, be averred, that the general welfare of all the States of the Union is not involved in a disposition of the negro population of those States, where such population is so considerable as to threaten the peace, if not the existence, of those States? Are the northern States so entirely uninterested in the fate of the southern? Suppose a *Haytian* revolution should be accomplished in all those south of Pennsylvania. Would the *Union* continue? Are the statesmen of New-York, who have ridiculed this truly philanthropic association of Washington, already prepared to fraternize with the sable legislators of the then regenerated southern States? Surely, there could not be presented to our national legislature a more momentous subject for its deliberations. What comparison could there be between the requisition of Canada or the Florida, or the fifteen millions given for Louisiana, with the total annihilation of all the *white* population of at least seven out of these eighteen United States? Let it be remembered, that it would not be a mere change of political party; it would be a total extirpation of the existence of a majority of the conquered, and perpetual exile to the remnant. Were one of these United States to be seized upon and withheld by a foreign enemy, would it not be the duty of Congress immediately to lay taxes to provide for the regaining the possession of it? Are they not equally bound to provide against its loss? Surely, the words "general welfare of these United States" can mean nothing, if they mean not either their peace, their happiness, or their existence.

APPENDIX.

NOTE I. p. 3.

Since what appears in the text, relative to reasoning by analogy from the qualities of those animals commonly called *Brutes*, to those under the denomination of *Man*, was written, the author has accidentally met with some extracts from a pamphlet or book, lately published (in 1816) at Cape Henry, St. Domingo, entitled “*Reflexions sur une Lettre de Mazères, Ex-Colon Français, adressée à M. Sismonde de Sismondi, sur les Noirs et les Blancs, la Civilization de l’Afrique, le Royaume d’Hayti, &c.—Par le Baron de Vastey.*” This negro-nobleman writes with much passion and feeling, as might be expected indeed from the nature of his subject, but shows great deficiency in the powers of reasoning and judgment. He has assailed his natural enemy, the *white* ex-colonist, with great fury, in the following passage :

“ Je découvre tant d’absurdités, de méchancetés et objections dans l’écrit de Mazères, que je suis vingt fois tenté de jeter la plume, et d’abandonner son fatras au profond mépris qu’il m’inspire. Je me sens humilié, je suis homme, je le sens dans toute mon être, je possède des facultés, j’ai la pensée, la raison, la force, j’ai tout le sentiment de ma sublime existence, et je me vois obligé de réfuter des puérilités d’absurdes sophismes, pour prouver à des hommes comme moi, que je suis leur semblable ? Mon ame indignée de cet excès de deraison et de méchanceté, me force de douter à mon tour, s’ils sont hommes, ceux qui ont osé mettre en discussion une question aussi impie, aussi immorale, qu’elle est absurde ! “ Mais,” dit Mazères, “ si les castors sont plus intelligens que les ânes, s’il y a des races de chiens différentes en intelligences, il doit nécessairement y avoir des espèces d’hommes inférieurs aux autres.” Eh comme imbécile ! répond J. J. Rousseau, cet argument tiré de l’exemple de bêtes ne conclut point, et n’est pas vrai. L’homme n’est point un chien ni une âne. Il ne faut qu’établir dans son esprit les premières rapports de la société pour donner à ses sentimens une moralité toujours inconnue aux

bêtes. Les animaux ont un cœur, et des passions ; mais la sainte image de l'honnête et du beau, n'entra jamais que dans le cœur de l'homme ; c'est donc une grand absurdité que de vouloir juger l'homme par analogie avec les bêtes.

“ Certainment, il peut y avoir de castors qui ont un peu plus d'instinct que d'autres castors ; des ânes et des chiens qui soient un peu meilleurs les uns que les autres ; il y a également de beaux hommes, il y en aussi de contrefaits ; il y a des hommes d'un génie supérieur, il y en aussi de sots et méchans : par exemple, Mazères se croit-il l'égal de M. de Buffon en talens et en lumières ? se croit-il un Achille ? tandis qu'il n'est qu'un fat rempli d'orgueil et de vanité, tâche comme Thersite ! Je le répète, que Mazères se compare et se juge s'il veut, par analogie, avec les ânes et les chiens, je ne l'en empêche pas ; il peut exister entre lui et ces quadrupèdes quelques analogies : les chiens, par exemple, ont été les auxiliaires des ex-colons, qui les ont aidé à détruire et à dévorer les noirs : ils peuvent donc très-bien sympathiser ensemble ; mais je soutiens que l'homme intelligent, espèce unique, ne peut être comparée et jugée qu'avec l'homme son semblable, et les animaux avec les individus de leur espèce.”

The grand mistake in this negro's declamation is, that agreeably to the common-place language of uninformed men upon the subject, he speaks of *man* as *one distinct species* of animals—“ espèce unique,” instead of considering, as the science of zoology prescribes,—*man* as a *genus*, and the different *species* thereof according to their various appearances of colour, form, and qualities, plainly and distinctly designating these different *species* of the same *genus*. The authority of *Rousseau* against reasoning by analogy from the brute creation, can weigh but little. His notoriety for paradox has placed his opinions in no very estimable reputation ; and the writer, who endeavoured to prove, as *Rousseau* did, that man in a *savage* state was a more perfect animal than in his *civilized* state, could surely hold himself as but very little superior to the brute, and could not with propriety take offence at any such comparison. It may also be observed, that a comparison of man with other animals is not derogatory, but greatly favourable to mankind, and exalts them to a very high degree in the scale of animated creation. It is a “ puerility” in the baron himself, therefore, to say “ l'homme n'est point un chien ni une âne.” True :—for, if man was a dog or an ass, there could be no analogy between them ; they would in all respects be one

and the same. Analogy is reasoning from similitude, not from identity; and a well known aphorism teaches us—*Nullum simile est idem.*

NOTE II. p. 22.

This proportionate number, of one *fourteenth*, has been so stated in the text, with reference to the time when Herodotus wrote his history, to wit, in the 444th year before the Christian æra; when we have the first authentic account of the discovery of such a race of *black* men, in the interior parts of Africa, as the negroes. It is true, that there is a passage in the prophecy of Jeremiah, who wrote about the 600th year before Christ, which seems to recognise a *black* race of men then existing some where in the world, but in what country, it is impossible for those, who do not understand Hebrew, to determine. This uncertainty arises from the variation between the two *English* translations of the Bible, as to this particular passage. In that, which was made in the time of queen Elizabeth, the passage, just referred to, in the prophecy of Jeremiah, (ch. xiii. v. 23.) is thus expressed—"Can the *blacke Moore* change his skin?" But in that made in the time of James I. now in common use, it is—"Can the *Ethiopian* change his skin?" As the *Moors*, or ancient Mauritanians, and the *Ethiopians*, are well known to have been two distinct nations, one of these translations must be wrong—both cannot be right, and therefore little stress can be laid upon this passage in Jeremiah, as to any knowledge of the negroes in his time. But Herodotus, the father of history, is more explicit. There is an incident mentioned by him, relative to the negroes, which seems to indicate, that until the time of this incident, the negroes were a race of people unknown even to the Greeks of Cyrenaica in the northern parts of Africa. He states, "that he was informed by men of Cyrene, that twelve young men of the Nasamenes (a nation" as he states, "of Libyan origin, and dwelling on the borders of the Syrtis,) had been chosen by lot to undertake a journey of discovery into the desert parts of Africa. These young men set out, abundantly provided with water and provisions, and, proceeding in a south-west direction, continued their journey through the desert. After they had, during many days, wandered through an extensive sandy region, they met with a race of men *completely black*, who, becoming their guides, conducted them to a city, by which flowed a large river, which run in a direction from west towards the rising of the sun; and in it, there

were crocodiles." We may here observe upon this, that it looks like a tolerably exact description of the *Joliba* of the unfortunate Mungo Parke, and that the city here referred to in Herodotus, was most probably either that of Tombuctoo or Haoussa. (See Herodotus, B. ii. ch. 32, 33.) But, supposing this passage in Herodotus to have been the first clear proof on record of the existence of a race of men completely *black*, and that the operation of climate is gradual, we can assume the period of time between Noah's deluge and the time of Herodotus, about 2550 years, as a period sufficiently long to turn a race of men completely *black*. The settlement of negroes in the United States having been about 180 years, it will be found, that they ought to have faded from their original blackness about one fourteenth part. If, however, we understand the prophet Jeremiah also, as alluding to a race of people *completely black*, the period of time necessary to convert white men into black is somewhat lessened, and it will be found, that the American negroes ought to have now lost one thirteenth part of their blackness.

NOTE III. p. 39.

For the sake of illiterate religionists, who are commonly most clamorous on this subject in the United States, it may not be improper to state, that the writer, who was thus an advocate for slavery, as referred to in the text, contended, that the leave given to the Israelites to make *bond-men*, (who were slaves for life,) expressed in the passages of the Old-Testament, which he quotes, (viz. Levit. xxv. 44, 45, 46, and Joshua, ix. 27,) was not a part of the *ceremonial* law prescribed to the Jews merely, but was inculcated as a moral and political usage fit to be adopted by all nations; that this moral and political usage, thus allowed to all nations, was *not revoked by the New-Testament*; but, on the contrary, as far as the *approbation* of one of the most intelligent and enlightened of the apostles, (St. Paul,) could sanction it, was an usage perfectly consistent with that divine system of religion, which this apostle was then labouring to establish. In support of this the writer quotes the words of 1 Corinth. vii. 21, 22. "Art thou called, being a servant? *Care not for it*; but if thou mayest be *made free*, use it *rather*." To this quotation I would add, 1 Corinth. xii. 13; Ephes. vi. 8; Coloss. iii. 11. It will be observed by those who will consult these texts in the original Greek, that the word *douloi*, in all these passages, is that which has been rendered

"servants" in the English translations. But, it is certain, that the word *douloi* is used by all the profane Greek authors as conveying precisely the same idea as the word *slaves* in English, and not that of "hired servants," who were called *pelatæ*. Sometimes also the word *oiketos* occurs; as in Luke, xvi. 14; 1 Peter, ii. 18; and at the end of the Epistle to Philemon; which is synonymous to our English word *domestic*; but it is obvious, that the word *domestic*, as well as that of *servants*, being the more general term, would comprehend *slaves* as well as hired servants; every slave being a servant, though every servant, or domestic, was not a slave; and this may have been the reason, why the English translators used the word *servants* instead of slaves, there being none of the latter kind of servants in that country. This interpretation of the word *douloi*, seems to be also confined by the antithesis in the above citations, "bond and free," *douloi eite eleutheroi*; and in Galat. iv. 24, 25, the word *douleia*, in the original Greek, is, in our translations, rendered "bondage;" a term, that could not properly be applied to hired servants. In the foregoing quotation also, from 1 Corinth. vii. 21, the words "made free" do not seem to be applicable to a hired servant, but peculiarly so to a slave. Again, in 1 Timoth. vi. 1. "Let as many servants as are *under the yoke*, count their own masters worthy of honour."

The expression "under the yoke" could not with propriety apply to hired servants. It may also be observed here, that this distinction between *hired* and *bond* servants had been always well-known among the Jews; as appears from Levit. xxv. 39. 40. Deuter. xv. 18. From all which it seems to follow, undeniably, that the word "servants," used in the preceding quotations from the New-Testament, must have referred to servants who were slaves for life; and as St. Paul no where speaks with disapprobation of the usage of holding slaves for life, he therefore implicitly sanctions such usage.

It must not be omitted, that this writer in *Bradford's Journal*, in proof of his proposition, that the christian religion allowed slavery, further observed, that "it was the opinion of eminent commentators, that Onesimus, mentioned in the epistle to Philemon, was a *servant for life*; he, having run from his master, was converted by the instrumentality of the apostle Paul. This apostle, instead of alleging that he ought to be free, grants that his master Philemon had a right to him; sends him home with a letter, wherein he intimates, that Onesimus was now likely to be useful to his

master 'for ever,' i. e. during life ; both in flesh and in the Lord, i. e. both in temporals as a servant, and in spirituals as a christian brother." This case of Onesimus deserves particular animadversion, inasmuch as it not only sanctions slavery, but exhibits a most useful lesson to the *Friends of the Blacks*, who are inhabitants of Pennsylvania and the Delaware State. These *Friends* are not content with merely being advocates for the emancipation of the negroes in Maryland, but shelter and protect them after they have committed enormous crimes and have run away from their masters in Maryland. How contrary this to the conduct of St. Paul ! Philemon was a citizen of the city of *Colosse*, in Asia Minor, where many christian converts had been made, and where Philemon himself was a preacher of the gospel. All this country was then a Roman province under the subjugation of the emperor Nero, and domestic slavery, as is well-known, was allowed throughout the Roman empire. Philemon had unfortunately this "unprofitable" scoundrel of a slave, who had robbed him, (of money, as is supposed,) and then run off to Rome ; very much as negro slaves in Maryland, after such conduct, now seek refuge in Philadelphia. This Onesimus, finding out Paul, who was then in prison at Rome, contrived, perhaps by attending upon him in his confinement, and pretending to be a very zealous christian convert, to insinuate himself into Paul's good graces. But Paul, being a conscientious man, unlike the *Friends of the Blacks* in Pennsylvania, thought it most proper to send Onesimus home to his master, and by him sent a letter, addressed to both the master and mistress of the slave, in which he requested them to receive Onesimus again into their favour, and endeavoured therein to extenuate his faults, by supposing that "perhaps he departed only for a season," and that "he, Paul, would repay what the slave had wronged them of."

Now, it would be highly desirable, if the *Friends of the Blacks*, in Pennsylvania and Delaware, would reflect well upon this excellent lesson and example, which St. Paul has here set down to them ; and, instead of secreting runaway slaves from their masters, act like St. Paul, send them home, and thereby cease to encourage disorganization and discontent among the slaves of a neighbouring State. There are other expressions of St. Paul, which might be recommended to these disorganizers ; as in Ephes. vi. 5. "*Servants, be obedient to them that are your masters according to the flesh ;*" and in the same chapter, of 1 Timoth. before cited, where he tells servants, that are "under the yoke," to "count their

own masters worthy of all honour," he adds a general remark, addressed to all christians, whether bond or free, "and having *food and raiment*, let us be *therewith content*." "These things," says he, "teach and exhort." But our modern *exhorters* teach otherwise. Be not content, they say to the slaves, with mere food and raiment; demand your *liberty*. This leads to a quotation from the learned Puffendorff, (who could not with propriety be called an advocate for slavery, contending, as he does, for the natural equality of mankind, but that by the special contract of individuals and the usage of nations in sparing their captives in war on such a condition, in process of time slavery for life became lawful,) a quotation so applicable to our present purpose, that I cannot forbear transcribing it. "Let us," says he, "in the next place, examine what inconveniences really attend a state of *servitude*, which, in the opinion of most people, passeth for the greatest misery incident to mankind, and such, as one ought rather to die than endure. The full sum and notion then of personal *servitude* amounts to this; that a man, for the sake of food, and the other necessities of life, shall lie under an obligation to perpetual labour; which, if taken in its true natural extent, *extracted from the barbarous cruelty of some masters*, and the unreasonable rigour of some laws, doth not imply any extravagant degree of hardship and cruelty. For that perpetual obligation is well requited by a perpetual certainty of maintenance, for which those who work by the hire, are often at a loss, either through want of business or wilful idleness. Some have thought, and not altogether without reason, that the prohibition of slavery among *christians* hath chiefly occasioned that flood of thieving vagrants and sturdy beggars, which is usually complained of. Though there are states, which have, in a great measure, put a stop to this nuisance, by erecting public work-houses, and compelling lazy rascals to a life of honesty and industry."

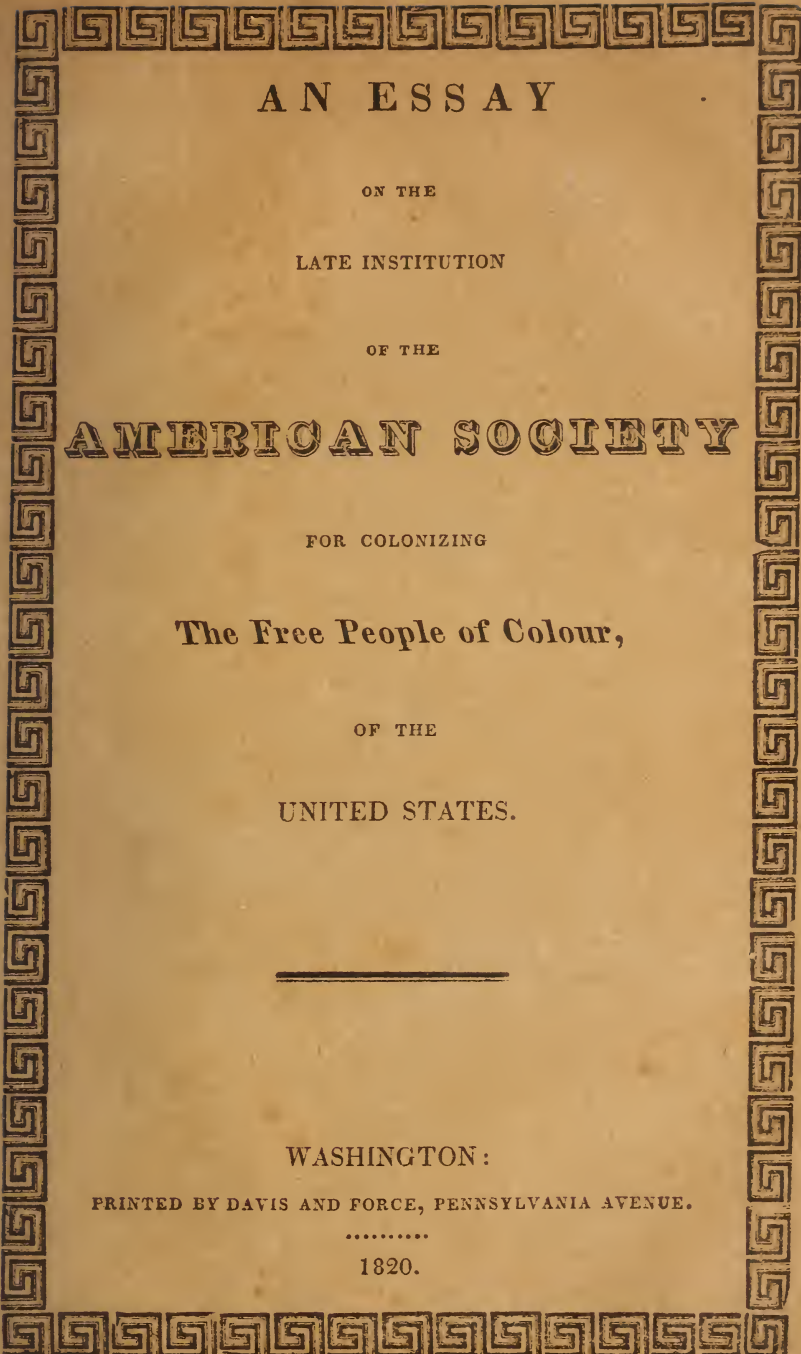
NOTE IV. p. 70.

Since the composition of what is in the text, a very recent publication has appeared in the newspapers, of apparent authenticity, purporting to be certain *resolutions*, entered into "at a numerous meeting of the people of colour, convened at Bethel church, to take into consideration the propriety of *remonstrating* against the contemplated measure, that it is to exile us from the land of our nativity," dated "Philadelphia, January, 1817." This meeting must have recurred immediately after the time of the first proposal to

form the Society at Washington. Among their *resolutions* on this occasion, there is one that seems to amount to what may be called, a flat refusal to accede to any colonization whatever; and is as follows: "Resolved, that we never will separate ourselves *voluntarily* from the slave population *in this country*; they are our brethren by the ties of consanguinity, of suffering, and of wrongs; and we feel that there is more virtue in suffering privations with them, than fancied advantages for a season." Pursuant to the purpose of this meeting, we find subjoined in the publication of the above-mentioned resolutions, a long *remonstrance* against this measure, (agreed to at a subsequent meeting on the tenth of August last,) under the denomination of "an address to the humane and benevolent inhabitants of the city and county of Philadelphia." After stating therein, that "this plan of colonization is not asked for by them," they expressly and unequivocally "declare their determination not to participate in any part of it." All this might do no harm, could we believe that this meeting was composed only of a few descendants of the free negro slaves formerly held in bondage by the Quakers of Philadelphia. But, as it is well-known that two thirds of the black population of Philadelphia are at this moment runaway slaves, or the descendants of such slaves, from the southern States, we cannot but read the subsequent part of their address with some indignation. "If this plan of colonization," they say, "is intended to provide a refuge and a dwelling for a portion of our brethren, *who are now held in slavery in the south*, we have other and stronger obligations to it;" among which "obligations" they proceed to state as follows: "To those of our brothers, who shall be left behind," (after the transportation or colonization of part,) "there will be assured and perpetual slavery and augmented sufferings. *Diminished in numbers, the slave population of the southern States, which now by its magnitude alarms its proprietors, will be easily secured.* Those among their bond-men, who feel they should be free, by rights which all mankind have from God and by nature, and *who thus may become dangerous to the quiet of their masters*, will be sent to the colony; and *the tame and submissive will be retained and subjected to increased rigour.* Year after year will witness these means *to assure safety* and submission among their slaves, and the southern masters will colonize only those whom it may be *dangerous to keep among them.* The bondage of a large portion of our brothers will thus be rendered perpetual. Should the anticipations of misery and

want among the colonists, which with great deference we have submitted to your judgment, be realized, to emancipate and transport to it, will be held forth by slave-holders, as the worst and heaviest of punishments; and they will be threatened and successfully used to enforce increased submission to their wishes, and submission to their commands."

Now, if these are not manifest indications of an intention not merely to encourage and abet, but to aid and assist the southern negroes, "their brethren," in some future revolt and insurrection, it is difficult to conjecture, how such ideas could be expressed in the English language. Why is there so much anxiety to keep up their "numbers," if it be not in contemplation of the future exercise of *force* to obtain their "final abolition of slavery?" A *gradual* abolition, which, as they say, is "under the guidance and protection of a just God," would be *pacific*; and would not need "numbers" to accelerate its progress. A part of them might peaceably remove to the land of their forefathers, and the business of abolition in its present *gradual* progress might still go on, "under the guidance and protection of a just God," without their stay to enforce it. Oh! no, they wish to keep up the "alarms" of slave-holders; to make it "dangerous to the quiet of masters," and to prevent them from resorting to "means to assure safety." What can all this mean, but the intention of exercising *force*? Ideas of this sort might naturally be expected from runaway slaves; of whom the meeting must have been mostly composed. But the misfortune is, that no free or runaway negro of Philadelphia was the draughtsman of this remonstrance. Not one of them could be found capable of penning it. It was the composition of some vile *white* incendiary. The Philadelphia *Amis des Noirs* are now playing the very same barbarous game in regard to the southern States, that the Parisian *Amis des Noirs* were in relation to the colony of St. Domingo. What can they mean? Would not a servile war in the south, if successful on the part of the slaves, infallibly produce a dissolution of the Union? Nay, indeed, whether successful or not, would not the encouragement and assistance of the northern States to such insurrection afford abundant cause for such a dissolution? The situation of the southern States in such case would not be desperate. They would only have to return again to their former condition as British colonists, and a servile war, though excited and aided by the christian pacific Pennsylvanians would soon be suppressed.



AN ESSAY

ON THE

LATE INSTITUTION

OF THE

AMERICAN SOCIETY

FOR COLONIZING

The Free People of Colour,

OF THE

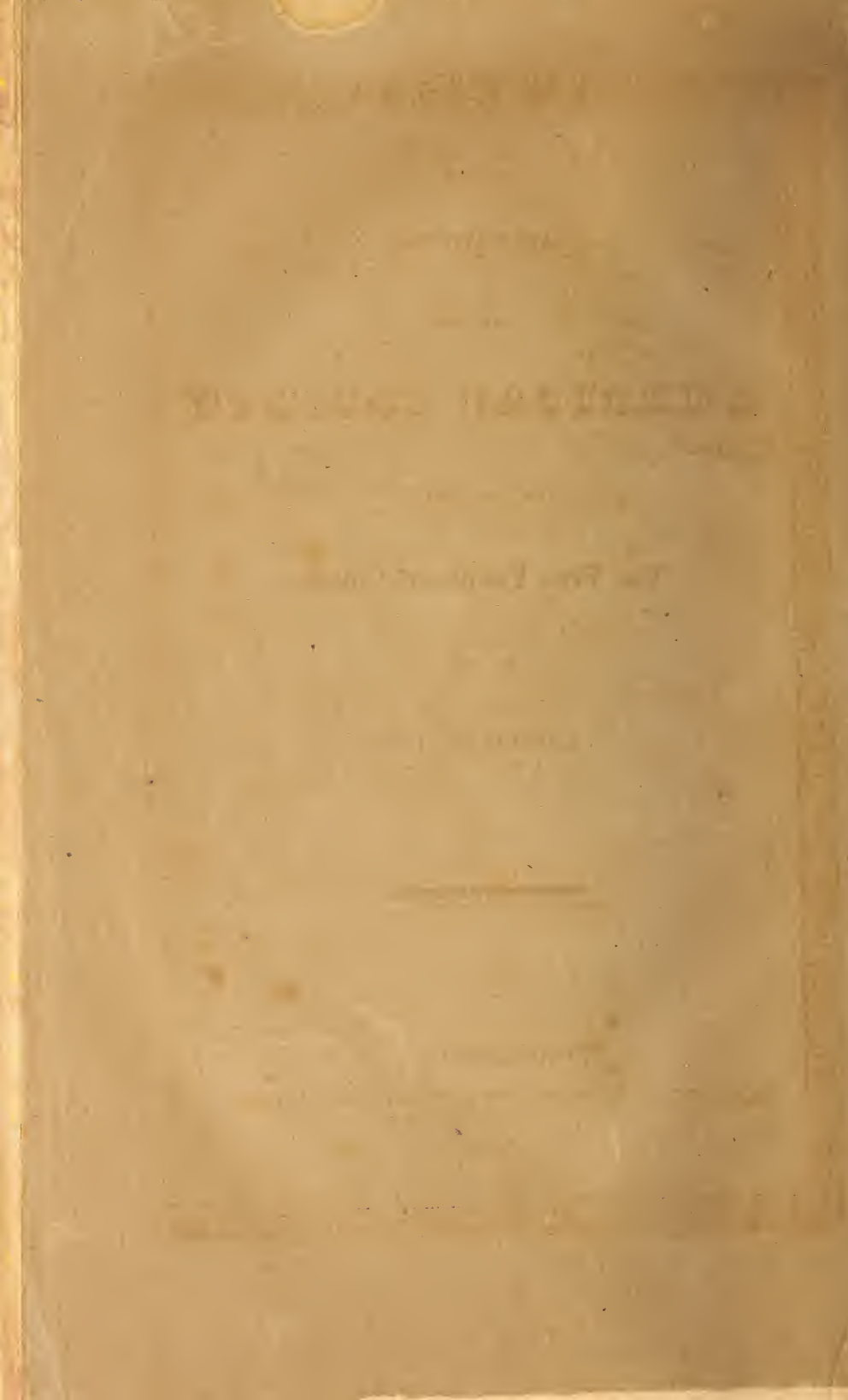
UNITED STATES.

WASHINGTON:

PRINTED BY DAVIS AND FORCE, PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE.

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1820.



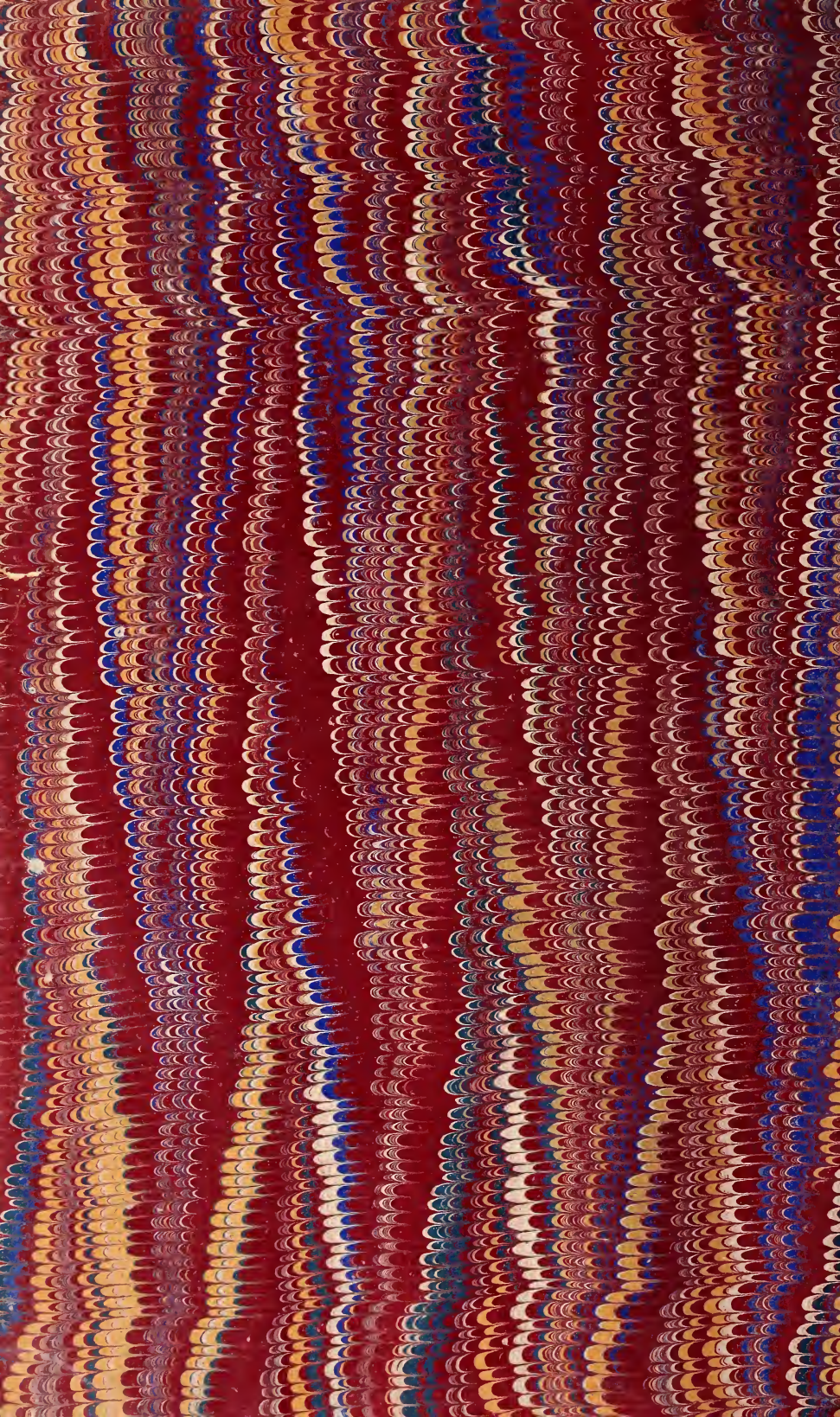
THE
NATIONAL CALENDAR,
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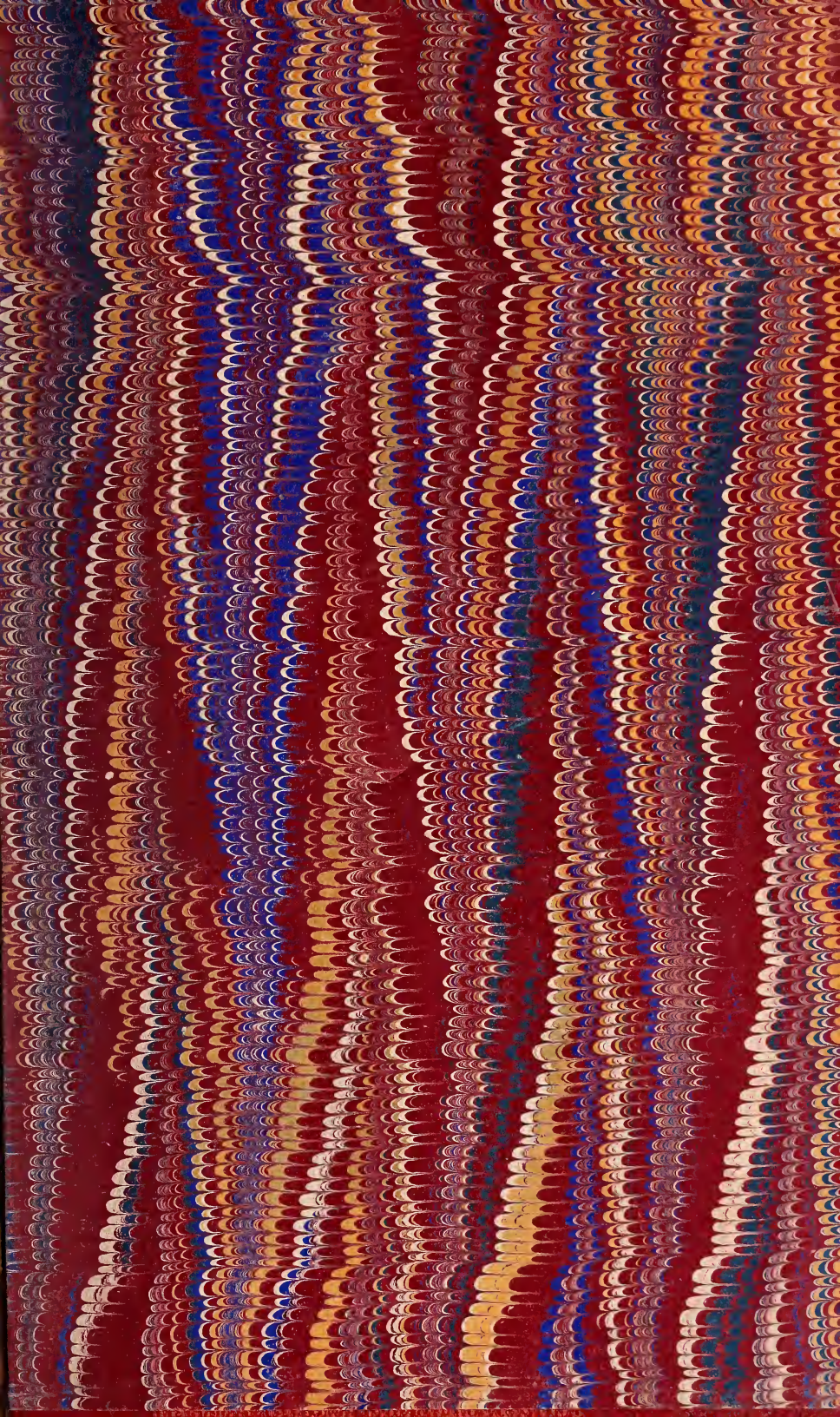
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